REC-12 [illegible] 46

April 10, 1962

Mrs. A. M. Donaldson
1056 Nobley Street
Cardiff, California

PERS. REC. UNIT

Dear Mrs. Donaldson:

Your letter of April 3, 1962, has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I would like to point out that there is no position in the FBI entitled "Administrative Assistant to the Director." Mr. W. Cleon Skousen was a clerical employee of this Bureau from October 24, 1935, until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned this latter position on October 5, 1951.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

APR 10 4 08 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

MAILED 20
APR 10 1962
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles reflect that correspondent was listed as an applicant reference; however, the file has been destroyed, and there is no other identifiable information concerning her. Skousen's services were satisfactory while he was with the FBI. Her reference to Skousen's being "fired as Chief of Police" is being purposely ignored.

RLR:rjg

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

April 3, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover:

I am very interested in any information concerning W. Cleon Skousen. Mr Skousen has, as you probably know, been touring the country with the Christian Anti Communist group headed by Swartz.

There have been several editorials about Skousen that would do nothing to help his reputation in his or this current fight against communist. One example - being firied as Chief of Police & the reasons given for this dismissal.

I would also like to know if this statement "he was - Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover

I would appreciate your sending me this information very much.

Sincerely

/s/ Mrs A. M. Donaldson
1056 Nobley St.
Cardiff, Calif.

record
ack 4-10-62
RFK:jfq

(1) True Copy
4-9-62/jfq

April 3, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover:

I am very interested in any information concerning W. Cleon Skousen. Mr Skousen has, as you probably know, been touring the country with the Christian Anti Communist group headed by Twarty.

There have been several editorials about Skousen that would do nothing to help his reputation in this or this current fight against communist. One example — being fired as Chief of Police & the reasons given for this dismissal.

I would also

like to know if this statement "he was - Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover

I would appreciate your sending me this information very much.

Sincerely

Mrs A.M. Donaldson
1056 Hobley St.
Cardiff Calif.

PERS. REC. UNIT

REC-84 [illegible] 47

April 11, 1962

Mr. A. E. Keiber
The Antlers Hotel
Spirit Lake, Iowa

Dear Mr. Keiber:

I have received your letter of April 6th and want to thank you for your interest in writing as you did. I certainly appreciate your kind remarks; however, I assure you my only desire is to remain in my present position as long as I can be of service to our country.

I would like to point out that Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His opinions and comments are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any manner.

Enclosed is some material I hope will be of interest to you.

MAILED 20
APR 11 1962
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Enclosures (5)
What You Can Do To Fight Communism
4-17-61 Internal Security Statement
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
The Communist Party Line
The Faith to be Free

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

APR 23 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

BS:cik (3)

TRUE COPY

THE ANTLERS HOTEL
Iowa Lake Regions Leading Hotel
W. R. Neal, Owner & Operator
Spirit Lake, Iowa
4-6-'62

Director J. Edgar Hoover F.B.I.
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

For 40 years, I was burried pretty much in the U. S. school room at Davenport, Io. So I am too old to be of much use to you and your excellent Bureau, but I am not too old to do some serious thinking. I am trying to analyze the import of W. Cleon Skousen's book The Naked Communist, especially the notes on The Future Task. I have reached the conclusion that Skousen is exceedingly well posted for the task he has performed in producing that book. The author of the Future Task is an exceedingly clever man, much more so than Khrushchev. Khrushchev has neither the education or brain to produce those lines. Somewhere, Mr. Hoover, in the U.S.S.R. there is now or has been recently some of the best brains in the world, unfortunately dedicated to the destruction of the American Republic. As I see it we can only avoid that by using the method which the communists say they must avoid - War, - Sudden, Secret and mighty

So far sir, we have not had and do not have now, the man in the White House fully qualified to do that job. Unless & until we put such a man in that office we are licked, not because of lack of strength, not because of lack of preparation, but because of the lack of knowledge as to what is needed for complete victory, and because of the lack of 17th century guts such as Cromwell, Teddy Roosevelt and a few others in our history possessed. We must remember that to win we must fight under our constitution, not under the wishy-washy, U. N. charter which is not & never will be a sovereignty. What about yourself, sir? Why not come out, if you possess the constitutional qualifications - You would win by a landslide and we could put an end to this frightful nightmare of piracy which the communists at the top know only too well is their chief stock in trade.

ack 4-11-62
BS:cjk

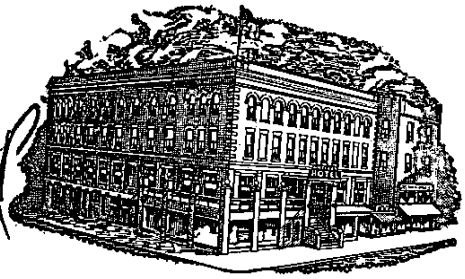
HC, 4-10-62
cjk

8/2

If Skousen makes 300 speeches a year, why is he not better known? Never heard of him before I ran across his book.

Sincerely

/s/ A. E. Keiber



The Antlers Hotel
IOWA LAKE REGIONS LEADING HOTEL
W. R. NEAL, Owner & Operator
SPIRIT LAKE, IOWA

4-6-'62

Director J. Edgar Hoover F.B.I
Washington D.C.

EXP. PROC.
30 APR 9 1962

Dear Mr. Hoover,

For 40 years, I was buried pretty much in the U.S. school room at Davenport Ia. So I am too old to be of much use to you and your excellent Bureau, but I am not too old to do some serious thinking. I am trying to analyze the import of W. Cleon Skousen's book The Naked Communist, especially the notes on The Future Task. I have reached the conclusion that Skousen is exceedingly well posted for the task he has performed in producing that book. The author of the Future Task is an exceedingly clever man, much more so than Khrushchev. Khrushchev has neither the education or brain to produce those lines. Somewhere, in the U.S.S.R. there is now or has been recently some of the best brains in the world, unfortunately dedicated to the destruction of the American Republic. As I see it we can only avoid that by using the method the Communists say they must avoid- War,

EX-105 REC-44 94-474-68-47

9 APR 1962

CORRESPONDENCE SECTION
FBI - REC. UNIT

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Sudden, Secret and mighty

So far sir, we have not had, and do not have now, the man in the White House fully qualified to do that job. Unless & until we put such a man in that office we are licked, not because of lack of strength, ~~but~~ not because of lack of preparation, but because of the lack of knowledge as to what is needed for complete victory, ~~but~~ and because of the lack of guts such as Cromwell, Teddy Roosevelt and a few others in our history possessed. We must remember that to win we must fight under our constitution, not under the wishy-washy U.N. charter which is not & never will be a sovereignty. What about yourself, sir? Why not come out if you possess the constitutional qualifications - You would win by a landslide and we could put an end to this frightful nightmare of piracy which the Communists at the top know only too well is their chief stock in trade.

Mr. S. Kousen makes 300 speeches a year, why is he not better known? Never heard of him before I ran across his book.

Sincerely

A. E. Reibow

RECEIVED - FBI
APR 9 3 09 PM '62
FBI
APR 9 3 50 PM '62
APR 11 6 23 PM '62
RECD
APR 9 1962
9 DIRECTOR

SAC, Salt Lake City (80-225) April 12, 1962

Director, FBI 94-47468-48 PERSONAL ATTENTION

2-Original & 1
1-Yellow
1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Mohr
1-Mr. Callahan
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Section tickler
1-J. M. Sizoo

W. CLEON SKOUSEN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reurlet 4/2/62.

The Bureau has reviewed the information set forth in relet and wishes to note that the interview was well handled by SA W. Rulon Paxman.

NOTE:

The interview was conducted by SA Paxman with Dr. Stewart L. Grow, a professor at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, to determine background of pamphlet by another Brigham Young University professor, Richard D. Poll, which criticized former SA W. Cleon Skousen's book, "The Naked Communist." The interview was searching and thorough and the letter prepared by SA Paxman covering the interview presented the requested information in excellent detail. Poll's pamphlet entitled "This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound" criticizes Skousen's book for its poor quality of scholarship. Grow is an established source of the Salt Lake Office. Poll reportedly is anticommunist and Poll's issue with Skousen is over lack of completely scholarly approach in Skousen's book.

No identifiable derogatory information in Bureau files re Grow and Poll.

JMS:cb
(9)

MAILED 31
APR 13 1962
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

APR 25 1962
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTN: CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

DATE: 4/2/62

FROM : SAC, SALT LAKE CITY (80-225)

SUBJECT: W. CLEON SKOUSEN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Rebulet 3/22/62 pertaining to Professor RICHARD D. POLL's criticism of W. CLEON SKOUSEN's book, "The Naked Communist."

Transmitted herewith for the Bureau are the following:

1. One copy of a printed pamphlet, fifteen pages in length, entitled "THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND," by RICHARD D. POLL.

2. One copy of the "Daily Universe," a student publication of the Brigham Young University Student Body, Provo, Utah, dated Tuesday, 3/27/62.

The pamphlet "THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND" has a subcaption, "A review of W. CLEON SKOUSEN'S THE NAKED COMMUNIST."

The cover also includes the following quotation from the Director:

> "Today far too many self-styled experts on communism are plying the highways of America giving erroneous and distorted information."

An examination of this pamphlet indicates that in wording it is esentially identical with the duplicated article entitled in the same manner as furnished to the Bureau by Salt Lake City letter 3/6/62. The foreword of the pamphlet uses the date of "Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, March 1962," and the foreword page reflects the pamphlet was copyrighted 1962 by RICHARD D. POLL. On page 15 a paragraph separated from the basic article itself is as follows:

2 ENCLOSURES

2 - Bureau (Enc-2) (REG.)
3 - Salt Lake City
(1--100-9651, RICHARD D. POLL)
(1--100-8691, Public Affairs Forum of Utah County

WRP:mhe (3)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

94-47468-48

APR 4 1962

APR 20 1962

CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

Let Lhs. 4-12-62

"Additional copies may be obtained from the author, 1159 Aspen Ave., Provo, Utah. The price, postpaid, is $.25 per single copy; $2.25 for 10. Quantity and trade prices available on request."

This pamphlet was obtained at the bookstore on the Brigham Young University (BYU) Campus on 3/27/62.

The 3/27/62 issue of the "Daily Universe" on page 1 announces that W. CLEON SKOUSEN will speak on the BYU Campus on 3/28/62. Page 4 of this issue carries an advertisement pertaining to Professor POLL's review of SKOUSEN's book.

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D an established source, furnished the following information to SA W. RULON PAXMAN on 3/27/62:

Dr. RICHARD D. POLL is a Professor in the Department of History at BYU at the present time. He is considered to be a person who is basically opposed to Communism but is also opposed to SKOUSEN's approach to the fight against Communism. Dr. POLL is politically a Republican, while Dr. GROW is a Democrat. Because of this and due to the fact they consider each other to be friends, Dr. GROW and Dr. POLL have in past years on many occasions appeared under BYU and other auspices as Democract and Republican, respectively, in connection with the discussion of various political matters, both at election times and otherwise. They have also been in each other's home on numerous occasions as friends and as fellow professors. Because of this, Dr. GROW considers he is very well acquainted with Dr. POLL. He considers Dr. POLL to be intellectually honest and completely loyal to the United States.

Dr. POLL in the past has spoken on several occasions before the Public Affairs Forum of Utah County (PAFUC). In some instances he has discussed with Dr. GROW the advisability of such appearances and has also discussed this with the President of the university. Dr. POLL has expressed to Dr. GROW that if there is a Communist organization in Utah County, the PAFUC is in all probability this organization. Dr. POLL has apparently declined to discuss some subjects before the PAFUC but has accepted some invitations to speak before them. He

has done so with the feeling that an honest presentation of the issues actually involved might eventually reach some of those who attend the meetings of the PAFUC. Dr. GROW has in the past declined to appear before the group because he considers the members have such a biased point of view that it is impossible to reach them with an honest presentation of the facts. Dr. POLL has a tendency to agree with Dr. GROW to some extent but continues to try to reach this group.

It is noted the PAFUC is a Communist front organization in Utah County.

Dr. GROW has specifically discussed with Dr. POLL, POLL's reasons for issuing a review of SKOUSEN's book, "The Naked Communist." When SKOUSEN's book was first issued it was read by many of the professors in the Political Science and History Departments at BYU, including Dr. GROW and Dr. POLL. There was some discussion pertaining to the book at that time, and it was the general feeling that the scholarship evident in the book was of poor quality. It was considered that the form of the book was basically inflammatory in nature rather than objective. Dr. GROW recalls that some of the professors mentioned at the time that SKOUSEN's book differed radically in this respect from the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit." The Director's book took a moderate approach which would appeal to a thinking person, while SKOUSEN's book took an emotional approach with just enough facts to cause the unthinking person to believe that the conclusions were based on fact. The above was the general reaction of many of the professors in the Political Science and History Departments. Dr. GROW recalls that Dr. POLL was present during some of the discussions pertaining to SKOUSEN's book but does not recall POLL's specific reaction. He believes, however, that it was generally as set out above.

The BYU is operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Most of the professors in the Political Science and History Departments are members of this church, including Dr. GROW and Dr. POLL. SKOUSEN has for many years been active in this church also and has performed for the church many duties, including acting as a consultant on an unofficial but open basis with respect to Communism. The extent of SKOUSEN's activities along this line is widely known in the

church. Professors in the above two departments at BYU were fearful that "The Naked Communist" might come to be considered by members of the church as the official line of the church with respect to Communism. This fear was reinforced because of the fact that some of the authorities of the church at times quoted from this book when discussing Communism. This apprehension undoubtedly had some influence on POLL in connection with the issuance of such a review. Dr. GROW does not know why Dr. POLL considered it necessary to have this review printed but, in his opinion, this arose from the following developments:

During the period since SKOUSEN was dismissed as Chief of Police of Salt Lake City, Utah, he has become involved on almost a nation-wide basis in an anti-Communist crusade, which has linked SKOUSEN with extreme activities in this field. Included in this campaign were Anti-Communist Seminars held in Provo and Salt Lake City, Utah. Some of the professors at BYU directed a letter pertaining to the Seminar in Provo to the "Provo Daily Herald," a daily newspaper published in Provo, which deplored the approach used by these Seminars in fighting Communism. Dr. GROW believes that Dr. POLL was one of the signers of this letter which was published in the above newspaper. Thereafter some of the speakers at these Seminars gave the impression that since these professors opposed the Seminars, they were either Communists or pro-Communist. SKOUSEN was one of those who appeared at the Seminar in Provo. (It is noted that under date of 4/4/61 RICHARD D. POLL, Acting Chairman, Department of History, BYU, sent a letter to the Director pertaining to CHARLES EDGAR WOOLERY, who was connected with this Seminar. This letter was answered by the Director under date of 4/10/61.) SKOUSEN's wide anti-Communist activities resulted in greater sale for his book and greater concern among the professors of the Department of Political Science and the Department of History at BYU with respect to the book. It is Dr. GROW's opinion that this would have acted as an impetus to Dr. POLL with respect to the writing of this review.

It is common in BYU circles for a critical review to be written with respect to practically any book written by one of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Such reviews are written pertaining to books that are issued by the general authorities of this church and

with respect to books that are written by other people pertaining to church subjects. Dr. POLL's writing of a review of SKOUSEN's book is accordingly entirely in keeping with the practice at the university pertaining to books by church members. Normally such reviews are not given wide distribution and are not printed in pamphlet form. It is also normal that the circle of readers of such books is not as wide as that of SKOUSEN's book. Dr. GROW does not have information from Dr. POLL on this matter but considers this could have prompted him to have the review printed in its present form.

Sometime during the Autumn of 1961, Dr. POLL invited SKOUSEN to his home to appear before an informal group consisting principally of professors from BYU, with the Departments of Political Science and History better represented than other departments of the school. The purpose of this invitation was to ask SKOUSEN questions pertaining to his book and to give SKOUSEN an opportunity to defend the scholarship of the book. Dr. GROW was invited to this gathering, but because of another commitment, was only there during the latter part of it. He recalls that on this occasion Dr. POLL and SKOUSEN were entirely friendly toward each other. The discussion had apparently been kept on a high plane and tempers had not flared. Some of those present pressed SKOUSEN for an explanation of what they termed inaccuracy, improper conclusions and poor scholarship. SKOUSEN had a tendency to react to these objections to his book by stating something to the effect that if the questioners knew what he knew about Communism but could not put in his book, they would realize that he was justified in the conclusions he had made. This did not satisfy those present, since it in effect asked them to accept without facts statements pertaining to Communism which SKOUSEN wanted to make. SKOUSEN also on this evening indirectly appeared to infer that anyone who opposed his methods of fighting Communism was, in effect, aiding Communism. He indicated he did not consider that there was any middle ground. Dr. GROW recognizes that this is a conclusion on his part with respect to SKOUSEN, since SKOUSEN did not state this in so many words.

Based on Dr. GROW's attendance at part of the above gathering, he is of the opinion that already at that time Dr. POLL had completed to a great extent his analysis of SKOUSEN's

book. He knows that subsequent thereto Dr. POLL reviewed for various groups material which he considered left SKOUSEN's book open to question as a quality book on Communism. Dr. GROW does not know that anyone in particular urged Dr. POLL to have this material printed or made available in written form but presumes some of those present, on hearing Dr. POLL's analysis, would suggest such a course.

Dr. GROW has seen Dr. POLL's review in duplicated form such as was furnished to the Bureau by Salt Lake City letter of 3/6/62 and in its present printed form.

Dr. GROW understands that Dr. POLL and SKOUSEN are still on generally friendly terms and the publication of this review has not caused any serious breach between them.

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

ENCLOSURE

Daily Universe

Vol. 14, No. 121 Tuesday, March 27, 1962 Provo, Utah

Authority on Russ sets Y talk



W. CLEON SKOUSEN

W. Cleon Skousen, author of "The Naked Communist," will address the Wednesday devotional at 10 a.m. in the Smith Fieldhouse.

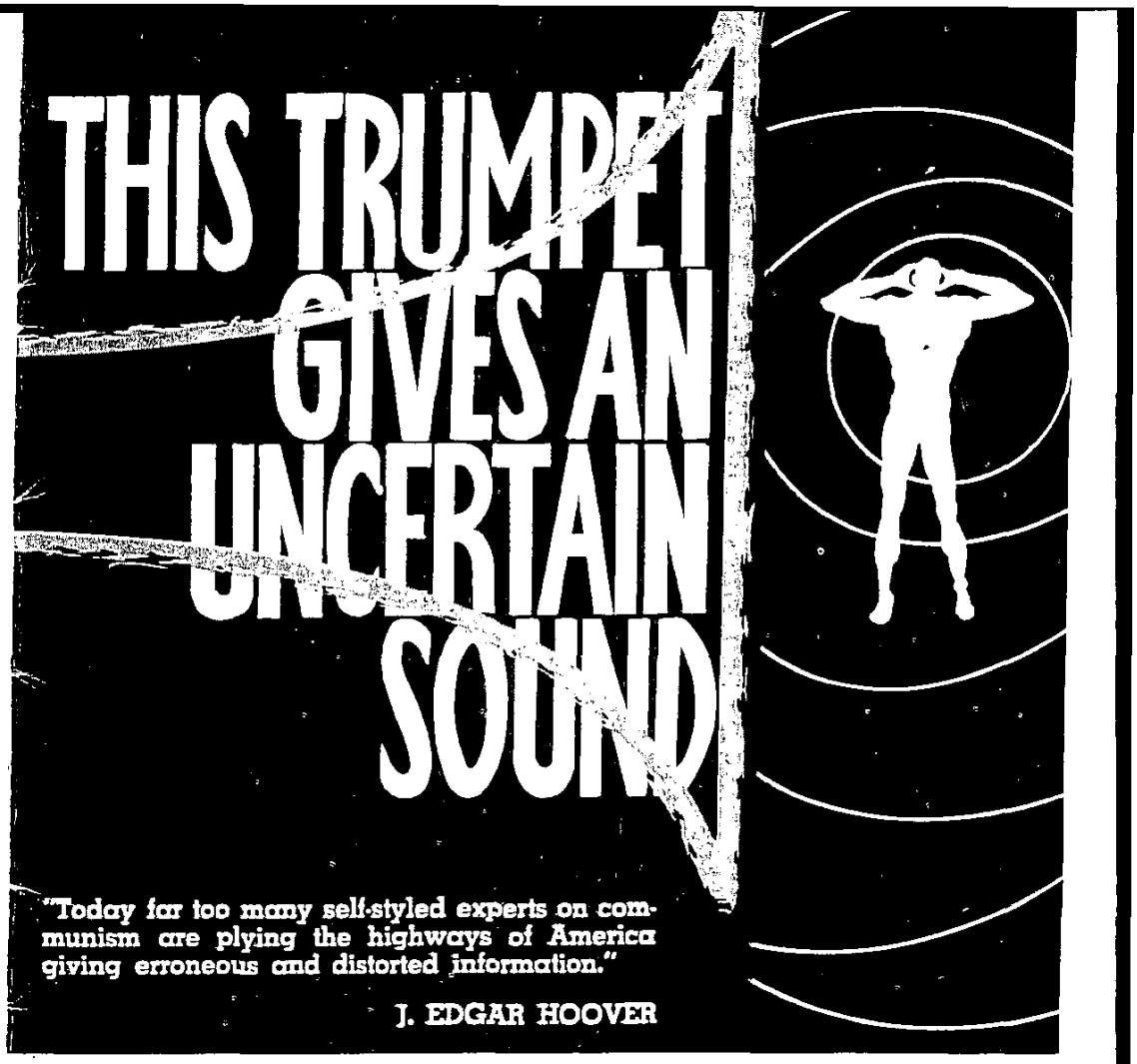
MR. SKOUSEN has spent the major portion of his life in the service of the LDS Church and in the FBI and is now lecturing on Communism at state and local conventions.

Reviewers have called "The Naked Communist," "the most powerful book on Communism since J. Edgar Hoover's 'Masters of Deceit.'"

BORN IN Raymond, Alta., Canada, he attended school in Canada, Mexico and the United States. He also spent two years in Europe.

At the age of 17 he was called on a two-year mission to the British Isles. Toward the end of his mission he served as district president in Northern Ireland.

In 1935, while attending law school at George Washington University, he entered the FBI. He graduated from law school in 1940 with an LL.B. degree and was admitted to practice before the District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia.



a
review
of

W. CLEON SKOUSEN'S

THE NAKED COMMUNIST

by

RICHARD D. POLL

"For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound,
who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

I Corinthians 14:8

This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound

A

Review

of

W. Cleon Skousen's

THE NAKED COMMUNIST

by

RICHARD D. POLL

FOREWORD

Because I am listed in the preface of *The Naked Communist* as having helped with research at Brigham Young University from which the book ultimately developed, I have felt impelled to set forth some of the reasons why I do not wish to be understood as endorsing the volume. This lack of enthusiasm is widely shared by colleagues in history, political science and economics in the universities of Utah and elsewhere. Louis C. Midgley, Edwin B. Morrell, Melvin P. Mabey and Van L. Perkins made particularly helpful suggestions. The Utah Citizens for Positive American Goals, the Salt Lake Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and many friends encouraged publication and helped to meet the initial costs. Sincere thanks to all of these. The responsibility for the review is, of course, solely mine. If it provokes a closer study of the realities of Communism and a more dispassionate discussion of ways to meet the Red challenge, it will have served its purpose.

RICHARD D. POLL

Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah
March 1962

Copyright 1962 by Richard D. Poll

THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND

A Review

W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist*. 9th ed., 1961. 408 pp.

Although *The Naked Communist* is a best seller in the Anti-Communist movement, it has disqualifying shortcomings as a source of information and as a guide for action against the Communist menace.

Objections to the book include:

1. The inadequacy and inaccuracy of its scholarship.
2. The incorrectness of its analysis of Communism.
3. The inaccuracy of its historical narrative.
4. The unsoundness of its program for governmental action.
5. The extreme partisanship of its program for individual action.
6. The objectionable character of the national movement of which it is a part.

In the following analysis, only rather obvious errors and distortions are cited, to avoid the necessity of detailed explanation and annotation. Every assertion about historical fact and political theory can be documented from reliable authorities. A truly scholarly dissection of *The Naked Communist* would be voluminous.

1. Inadequacy and inaccuracy of scholarship.

While W. Cleon Skousen admittedly bases his claim to expertness on Communism primarily on his FBI experience and continuing contact with inside sources, inaccessible to ordinary scholars, one might expect his book to show familiarity with the works and authors generally regarded as authorities on Communism, Russia and contemporary history. It does not.

The 9th edition of *The Naked Communist,* latest available, lists 109 bibliographical entries (pp. 379-384), only 16 of which have been published since 1940. R. N. Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism: An Introduction* (1957), one of the best short treatments of its subject, has a critical bibliography of 155 items, 98 of which are post-1940; Skousen cites only 16 works found in the Carew Hunt list. Even more substantial differences are found between the Skousen bibliography and those of scholars like Sidney Hook, Henry B. Mayo and Merle Fainsod.

Queried on this point, Skousen has admitted that most of his research was done years ago. Most recent scholarship, he states, can safely be ignored because the academic experts of today will be proved as wrong as the experts of earlier years. Only a very limited group of ex-Communists, ex-FBI undercover agents,

ex-military leaders and sensational journalists appear acceptable to Skousen as witnesses on the Communist conspiracy.

Yet the book projects an air of scholarship by freely using such phrases as "experts on Marxism have known" (p. 5), "diplomatic strategists advocated" (p. 126), "official reports tell" (p. 123), "economists have pointed out" (p. 326), and "leaders in literally hundreds of experiments concur" (p. 344). There are at least a hundred such phrases, almost never annotated even where quotation marks are used; 61 quotations are not documented at all.

Use of quotations is frequently questionable. Minor discrepancies occur in citations of the Communist Manifesto (pp. 45, 47, 67). Lenin's famous testament (p. 121) is not accurately rendered, and Otto Ruhle's characterization of Karl Marx (p. 9) is substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage. Dmitry Manuilsky's oft-quoted statement, ". . . we shall smash them with our clenched fist," appears twice (pp. 208, 288), despite questions about its authenticity; the second citation is vaguely footnoted as *"Pravda,* November, 1931," although the head of the Slavic and Central European Division of the Reference Department of the Library of Congress declares that the quotation does not appear in this or any other published Soviet source with which his office is familiar.

The famous "Communist Timetable of Conquest" is described by Senator William F. Knowland, who first published it in the *Congressional Record* (Vol. 100, pp. 5707-08), as "some information which came to me purporting to be an outline of Mao Tse-tung's memorandum on the new program for world revolution, carried to Moscow by Chou En-lai in March of 1953." *The Naked Communist* (p. 254) declares that the document was captured by U. S. military intelligence and that it represents settled policy: ". . . Red leaders decided to set up a timetable of conquest for the entire world and then take it continent by continent."

Parenthetically, this "Timetable"—a staple in the professional Anti-Communist diet—begins by crediting all the Communist successes to the "profound leadership" and "able and correct guidance" of "Comrade Stalin." It predicts: "By 1960 China's military, economic and industrial power will be so developed that with a mere show of force by the Soviet Union and China, the ruling clique of Japan will capitulate." It also foretells: "With Asia and Africa disconnected with the capitalist countries in Europe, there will be a total economic collapse in Western Europe." The boast that "Twenty years from now [1973] world revolution will be an accomplished fact!" squares badly with Khrushchev's recent announcement to the 22nd Communist Party Congress that in 1980 the Soviet Union will be economically ahead of the still functioning and still capitalistic United States. As prophecy, the "Red Timetable" hardly seems worth the attention which Skousen accords it.

2. Incorrectness of analysis of Communism.

In his zeal to demonstrate the absolute evil of Communism, Skousen describes Marxist-Leninist theory in terms to which serious exception can be taken. Since Communism, accurately described, is no less repugnant to the American way of life than the Skousen version, only a few inaccuracies will be cited.

"Communism undertakes to replace Judaic-Christian morals with a complete absence of morals." (p. 52) Communism argues that morals are relative to the stage of development of human society and has different sets for capitalist and Communistic societies.

"Everything is a product of accumulated accident. There is no design. There is no law." (p. 354) Communism is strongly deterministic and predicts its own victory on the basis of the laws of history which are fundamental in Marxist thought.

The indiscriminate lumping of all forms of atheism, agnosticism, relativism, collectivism, totalitarianism, nihilism and Hegelian idealism into a category called "materialism" permits identifying all forms of wickedness with Marxism, but it does not produce a clear or accurate conception of Communist "dialectical materialism." (pp. 33-42, 347-78)

The exposure of Communist fallacies (pp. 61-88) ignores the substantial changes which have occurred in the content of that ideology over the years. We are reminded that the goal of world revolution remains, but we read nothing about the drastic and repeated revamping of doctrine on such basic matters as nationalism, family life, wages and distribution, property ownership, party organization and tactics, coexistence with capitalism, and the sequence and timetable of revolution. The transformation of Communism from a worldwide revolutionary crusade into a tool of Soviet and Chinese foreign policies is extensively developed (pp. 109-54), but the logical conclusion that the threat of Communism to the United States now lies more in the realm of power politics than ideological subversion is rejected. Presumably the recent macabre campaign against Stalin and the Sino-Soviet wrangle over Albania are simply stage maneuvers to deceive the West.

More reliable analyses of Communism are to be found in Carew Hunt, already cited, and in Henry B. Mayo, *Introduction to Marxist Theory* (1960). Less technical but helpful are the paperbacks by Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists* (1955); Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, *What We Must Know About Communism* (1958); Alfred G. Meyer, *Communism* (1960); and Arthur P. Mendel (ed.), *Essential Works of Marxism* (1961). J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit* (1958) is very valuable on Communism in America.

3. Inaccuracy of historical narrative.

Since none of the standard treatments of Russian history, recent United States history or recent international relations is apparently utilized, the limitations of *The Naked Communist* as history can be expected to show. They do.

Some of the discrepancies are minor matters of fact, like the identification of Bakunin's anarchism and the Russian Populist movement with Marxism (pp. 24, 91-93) and the declaration that 46,000,000 Russian peasants were still serfs in 1885 (p. 90). Serfdom was abolished in 1861, but the condition of the peasants improved very slowly and populism, anarchism, Marxism and several other forms of radicalism were propagated among them in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

More serious are interpretations of history in which Skousen breaks with most scholarly writers. Very doubtful generalizations include:

1. United States recognition prevented the overthrow of Stalin in 1933, (pp. 124-26) From the assertion in one journalistic biography that Stalin faced imminent overthrow in 1932 and the obvious fact that he was in control of affairs by 1934, Skousen draws the conclusion that U. S. recognition explains the shift. The difference between stating that recognition was one of several factors which improved Stalin's prospects and inferring that he might have fallen if recognition had been withheld may seem a subtle one, but it is the kind of distinction which a reader of this book must constantly make. It is the distinction between Skousen's "devil theory" of history and objective analysis of the multiple causes of important historical developments.

2. "World War II was fomented and used by the Russian leaders" as part of their strategy of Communist expansion. (pp. 155-61) One Soviet officer who defected prior to 1939 is relied on for this interpretation. That Stalin feared war and maneuvered ruthlessly to turn Hitler toward the West is clear, but that he wanted war and expected to direct it toward world revolution is contradicted by the surprise, dismay and almost panic with which he reacted to the German attack in 1941.

3. "Anyone familiar with the Communist Constitution of Russia will recognize in the United Nations Charter a similar format." (p. 172) This is on a par with the declaration that a present goal of Communist policy is to "Promote the UN as the only hope for mankind." (p. 260) The similarity which Skousen sees is between the "fervent declaration of democratic principles" in each document and the "constitutional restriction and procedural limitation" which follow. The preamble and "checks and balances" in the United States Constitution can with equal validity be cited to show that the UN Charter follows our model. But the author of *The Naked Communist* is so intent on making the UN a part of the Communist conspiracy that he ignores the obvious and continuing Soviet effort to discredit and destroy that organization.

4. The Communist victory in China was caused by American "stupidity, incompetence or worse." (pp. 181-89, 251) Skousen belongs to that group of Americans who are convinced that our country can never lose except when someone deliberately chooses to give in. There is no place in his world view for circumstances beyond control, dilemmas, or even honest errors in judgment. That the Communist conquest of China wasa disaster is clear, but that it could have been prevented by anything less than a military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest is still disputed by many Americans who are neither "stupid, incompetent or worse."

5. The Castro victory in Cuba resulted from the same "stupidity," incompetence or worse" in Washington, Batista being described in very apologetic terms. (pp. 237-52) A single highly partisan and sensationalistic work is given as authority. The comments made in the preceding paragraph apply here, too; Batista and Castro were a choice of evils, and against the background of a Latin America in genuine political, economic and social revolution, the policy preference for Castro does not require treason for explanation. The fact that the United States can crush Castro by force if it becomes in our vital interest to do so, argues against panicking while we try to help his own follies to destroy him and the Communist beachhead in Latin America.

6. "Without our tolerance and help the Communist empire would never have become the second strongest power in the earth." (p. 288) This is the book's historical thesis, and the eminent British historian, D. W. Brogan, had something like it in mind when he wrote during the McCarthy era: "Many, very many Americans, it seems to me, find it inconceivable that an American policy, announced and carried out by the American government, acting with the support of the American people, does not immediately succeed. If it does not, this, they feel, must be because of stupidity or treason." (Quoted by James E. Clayton in *The Washington Post,* August 8, 1961). Apart from its inaccuracy, the "scapegoat theory" of history blinds us to real problems, real causes, and practical approaches to problem-solving.

The pervasive insistence that at almost every crucial juncture since 1933 the United States has taken the wrong course in her dealings with Russia and Communism, that in every case a better alternative was available, and that the failure to pursue that alternative reflects "stupidity, incompetence or worse," is not only historically objectionable but almost certain to undermine public confidence in our fundamental governmental institutions and processes.

4. Unsoundness of program for governmental action.

Its recommendations for action are paramount objections to *The Naked Communist.* Skousen's own excuse for inaccuracies which have been pointed out to him is that the important job, after all, is to alert people to the Red menace. But if the programs proposed for the aroused citizenry are improper, even dangerous, then Goethe's observation becomes timely:

"There is nothing so terrible as ignorance in action."

The Skousen formulas for governmental and individual action are set forth in Chapter XII, "The Future Task." (9th ed., pp. 253-88) The chapter begins with the dubious "Communist Timetable," already discussed. By the book's own analysis, *none* of the *specific* commitments in the timetable has yet been achieved; still the conclusion is reached: "Some phases of this plan of conquest have been frustrated, but other phases are far ahead of expectations. Considered overall, the Communist Timetable of Conquest is alarmingly close to being right on schedule." (p. 258)

Next is a 45-point list of "Current Communist Goals" (pp. 259-62), which needs only to be compared with J. Edgar Hoover's *The Communist Party Line,* to reveal how wide of the mark Skousen is. (Hoover's statement was published on September 23, 1961, by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as *Senate Document No. 59,* 87th Cong., 1st Sess.) Items 4, 9, 11, 22, 38, 39 and 45 on the Skousen list are incredible. A number of the others are given unwarranted application in the programs which this book advocates.

Skousen's proposals for governmental action against the Communist threat abroad are: (pp. 263-275)

1. Expel Russia and her satellites from the UN.
2. Sever diplomatic relations with all the Communist nations.
3. Establish a complete economic blockade of the Communist world.

This program will purportedly aggravate economic distress within the Red bloc, cause satellite uprisings, and lead to the speedy collapse of the whole Communist system. To use Skousen's phrase, this is the way "to pull the blustering bully down." (p. 5)

That the program has virtually no acceptance outside the professional Anti-Communist movement invites skepticism. Obvious questions include:

How will the cooperation of more than 90 other non-Communist nations be secured, without which the program cannot be implemented? Will all non-cooperators be added to the quarantined group? Is this not a program for isolating the United States, rather than isolating our adversary? Even if it were in the interest of the United States, it is not within our power to impose such a program on the UN or the world community.

What justifies the confidence in non-recognition and non-intercourse when they have consistently failed to produce desired results in the past? Non-intercourse precipitated the War of 1812; non-recognition had no measurable effect on Russia from 1917 to 1933; and non-recognition and non-intercourse have neither intimidated nor overthrown the Red Chinese regime.

What is Skousen's evidence of the economic vulnerability of the Communist bloc? Their third of the world has abundant manpower, lacks few basic resources, and is, at a terrible price, developing technology and industrial capacity. To outdistance the Soviets in production competition and make a lie of Khrushchev's boast to bury us is essential and within our power, but economic warfare has little to contribute to this generation-long race. There is a place for selective economic pressures in stimulating negotiations or in adding to the difficulties of weak governments. But even the blocking of food sales from a China in famine is as likely to increase the terrorism and belligerence of the Red rulers as it is to produce their overthrow.

What happens if our author is wrong and his program simply divides the world totally without producing revolution in the Communist part? Orwell's *1984* might be one result; a war of desperation might be another. If the Communist leaders are as ideologically dedicated as this book insists, there is every likelihood that they will prefer war to surrender. If they are, as much evidence suggests, hard-headed political realists, then they can best be dealt with by programs which do not reduce the choices to "all or nothing at all."

5. Extreme partisanship of program for individual action.

This is the most undesirable feature of *The Naked Communist,* because here Skousen makes clear what he is *really* after, and this is what too many patriotic and well-meaning citizens are accepting as true Americanism.

The thesis is: "Fighting Communism, Socialism and the subversion of constitutional government is everybody's job." (p. 275).

The technique is to define anything which disagrees with Skousen's ultra-conservative opinions as "Communism, Socialism and subversion," and so to equate patriotism and morality with reading certain one-sided books and supporting a highly partisan political, economic and social creed.

The section entitled "What Can the Ordinary Individual Do? (pp. 275-88) spells things out in detail. Here are a few illustrations:

From "Suggestions to Parents" (pp. 276-77):

"Do not fall for the 'permissive' school of psychology which says discipline will harm human development. Such thinking produces hoodlums with maladjusted personalities who are likely to fall for every 'ism' that comes along." Because Skousen disproves of modern psychology and "progressive education," he sets up a "straw man" which corresponds to no responsible viewpoint in either field and then makes a patriotic requirement out of knocking it over.

"Be active in PTA. If you are not, Communists and centralized planners will take over." Making synonyms out of such words as "Communist, centralized planner, socialist, welfare stater, liberal" and even "internationalist" and "desegregationist" is a standard technique of the extreme right; Skousen avoids only the last of these in his vocabulary of un-Americanisms. J. Edgar Hoover and other unimpeachable patriots have warned that the linking of all types of political reformism or dissent with Communism does a real disservice to the country.

"Where you have older children, make current events part of the dinner table talk. Be quick to point out left-wing slanting of news, TV or radio broadcasts. There is far more of this slanting than most people realize." No names are named, it being a conventional alarmist technique to suggest that danger is everywhere by locating it nowhere. From his argument elsewhere, one must infer that "left-wing slanting" means speaking without emotion about social security, labor unions or Nehru and that the loyal commentators are Dan Smoot, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Clarence Manion.

From "Suggestions for Teachers" (pp. 277-80):

"Beware of those who come pretending to help education when they are trying to seize control of education. Socialist and Communist planners have ambitions to eliminate all local control. . . ." "Be alert to the fact that education was infiltrated by the Socialist-Communist contingent over thirty-five years ago. . . . Because they were hard workers they gained sweeping control of some of our most respected institutions." Again, no names, no evidence, and the lumping together of diverse radicalisms as a single, omnipresent enemy. John Dewey, Columbia Teachers College and advocates of Federal aid to education as as liable to criticism as other elements in our free society, but they are not products of the Communist conspiracy.

"Watch for slanted passages in textbooks. Socialist authors have invaded the textbook field. . . . 'Brainwashing in the High Schools,' by E. Merrill Root, is an analysis of 11 American history books which reflect the destructive left-wing analysis." To Skousen, "socialist authors" are apparently writers who find anything wrong with American policies and leaders prior to 1932 or anything right about them since the advent of the New Dealers. Root's chauvinism is so blatant that he objects to applying the term "imperialism" to our country's relations with the Philippines and Panama at the turn of the century. Other titles suggested for teachers by the author of *The Naked Communist* (pp. 278-79) are of the same intemperate quality.

"Encourage patriotic speakers at school assemblies. Excellent films are also available." A Skousen favorite is "Communism on the Map," which is now being replaced by an up-dated version called "Communism 1961." The replacement corrects some of the factual errors but stresses the same grim theme that the world is already mostly lost to Communism-socialism-welfare statism-liberalism. The film's producer, Glenn A. Green, has since become a field representative of the John Birch Society.

From "Suggestions for Businessmen" (pp. 281-83):

"Work for a more equitable tax structure which is not arbitrary and confiscatory." This is a meritorious suggestion, but of limited relevance to fighting Communism, unless the author belongs to that school which brands the income tax as a Communist device which ought to be abolished.

"Be careful not to contribute to an organization until you know it is a bona fide patriotic group. . . . If you are a member of the American Security Council, you can check on any organization or any individual through their files." Skousen is field director of the American Security Council, which declares itself to be the largest civilian clearing house for "factual information about Communism and other statist activities." It maintains files on a very large number of people who have been active in liberal, radical or genuinely subversive enterprises and draws no clearer distinctions between these categories than does its field representative.

From "Suggestions to the Press" (pp. 285-86):

"In fulfilling the task of exposing crime, corruption and inefficiency in the American culture, be careful not to destroy confidence in American institutions." Apparently no such responsibility rests upon those who describe thirty years of American history and government in terms of "stupidity, incompetence or worse."

From "Suggestions for Ministers" (pp. 286-88):

"The churches became a major target for Communist-Socialist infiltration many years ago. These people were successful in capturing many key positions in a number of important religious organizations. Some religious leaders openly advocate and defend Communist principles." Skousen is no readier than his Anti-Communist associates to name names or cite evidence to support this vague and comprehensive attack on church leadership in America. Cartha D. DeLoach, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, very recently "assailed persons 'who go about the country' charging that such fields as religion, education and labor were being infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers." Strenuous and devious Red efforts continue, he told a seminar of the American Bar Association, but there has been no substantial infiltration of these areas. (Salt Lake *Tribune*, January 28, 1962, p. 14A)

"Be alert to detect those who use 'Social Christianity' to cover up the fact that they are not Christians at all." Skousen's inference that Christians who do not share his own rigorous fundamentalism are probably subversive is unfair, and his insistence on linking loyalty with religious commitment is unwarranted. Communism is certainly a dire threat to organized religion, but it is also a threat

to the unchurched, the pagan, the agnostic, the humanist, and even the atheist who believes in human freedom. Sincere and patriotic opponents of Communism may be found in all these categories.

"Be alert to the drive by certain analytical psychiatrists to have ministers accept their amoral philosophy." This should be considered in connection with Skousen's statement (p. 262) that one of the Communist goals is to "Dominate the psychiatric profession and use mental health laws as a means of gaining coercive control over those who oppose Communist goals." To the person who sees the psychiatrist's couch as a tool of subversion, the conclusion readily follows: "Today Communism is advancing on all fronts." (p. 288)

Finally, from "Suggestions for Students" (pp. 280-81):

"When you run across dedicated Socialists, remember that the only difference between a Socialist and a Communist is the method of takeover. . . . In reality the two are twins."

The writer of this review is no Socialist (or Communist, for that matter),* but he insists that this kind of blurred thinking ill-equips students or adult citizens to make the accurate distinctions and judgments essential in answering the tremendous question: "What *are* the proper functions of government in modern society?" Because Skousen unceasingly hammers the point that every increase in governmental activity is a step down the Ambush Trail to collectivist despotism, examination of that argument seems appropriate here.

First, it is important to remember that the term "socialist" has a very specialized meaning in Marxist-Leninist thought as it has evolved in the Union of Soviet *Socialist* Republics. It is the system which prevails during the "dictatorship of the proletariat" stage of history, when wage and class distinctions and police state measures are regarded as necessary and proper. This "socialism" does not precede the Communist seizure of power, it *follows* it. As early as 1936 Stalin said that the USSR was nearing the close of this "transitional" period; as late as 1961 Khrushchev said it again. Actually, the stateless, classless society of "pure communism" is no nearer in the Soviet Union than it was 40 years ago, and there is much to suggest that it is unattainable by the road which the Communist regimes are currently following.

In any case, this is not the meaning which is given to the word "socialism" by those, like the author of *The Naked Communist,* who identify socialism with Communism in their propaganda against governmental programs with which they disagree. They mean "socialism" in the generalized sense of governmental ownership or direction of the means of production and distribution of goods or services, and they feverently avow that all much measures lead inexorably to Red dictatorship.

Three historically demonstrable points need to be made about this contention:

1. Socialism in a comprehensive or "blueprint for Utopia" sense has never had very great appeal in the United States and has very few adherents

*I have been a delegate to the Utah State Republican Party Conventions in 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1960, and I am convinced that the need for *responsible* conservatism was never greater in America. RDP

today. What numerically significant groups in our country are at present advocating the nationalization of any sector of our production and distribution system, or even any substantial extension of controls? The basic commitment of the whole American people to a private enterprise economy is probably stronger now than at any other time since the Civil War.

2. Socialism in the more pragmatic sense of using government to support or provide certain specific goods or services not satisfactorily obtainable elsewhere has *not* been regarded by any past American generation as incompatible with our basic ideals about life, liberty and property. From public schools and post offices we have moved with changing circumstances to national and state parks, freeways and social security, being satisfied that no fundamental threat to liberty exists as long as we can modify or abolish programs if we wish, or "throw the rascals out" if they administer them too badly. We have not regarded *our* government as an enemy, as Skousen and his fellow rightists apparently do.

3. The strongest and most vigorous democracies in the world—and our best allies—are nations which combine a high degree of private enterprise with broad public programs of a "welfare state" character. In all of these the Communists have declined in numbers and influence since 1945, and the likelihood of any of them succumbing to Red subversion is virtually nil. The danger of Communist revolution is greatest today in those areas where governments are most indifferent to human needs. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that *The Naked Communist* has no substantial suggestions on how to prevent the Communists from capturing the "revolution of rising expectations" which is now sweeping these areas.

This reviewer has repeatedly invited Skousen and other advocates of the "liberalism-is-socialism-is-communism" persuasion to name a single nation in human history which has traversed the Ambush Trail from democratic "welfare statism" to Communism. The invitation is again extended here.

There are valid and impressive conservative arguments against many current proposals to extend the functions of government in such directions as education, resource development, agriculture and medical care. But the contention that they lead inevitably to dictatorship, and that those who support them are therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, helping the Communist conspiracy, is *not* one of them. In promoting the viewpoint, *The Naked Communist* makes no contribution to enlightened public discussion of domestic political issues or to the development of healthy citizenship attitudes among students.

6. Objectionable character of Skousen's Anti-Communist movement.

Much of the market for *The Naked Communist* is in connection with "Anti-Communist Seminars," "Freedom Forums" and "Project Alerts," in which inaccurate history and negative programs are expounded in an evangelical blend of fear, hatred and pulse-pounding enthusiasm. Participants are admonished to study Communism, and they end up buying tracts by Gerald L. K. Smith and his racist cohorts, confessionals of ex-Communists, spy stories and other volumes which excite more than they inform. They are aroused to *fight Communism*, and they end up demanding U. S. withdrawal from the UN and the firing of

teachers who advocate federal aid to education. They are solicited to contribute to the Anti-Communist crusade, and they end up subsidizing pamphlets calling for the repeal of the income tax and the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren. Skousen has apologized for the fact that, in one of his own rallies in Los Angeles on December 13, 1961, a speaker said that the Chief Justice deserves to be hanged, but one can still question the usefulness of an "educational campaign" which uses men of such opinions as teachers.

The fact that *The Naked Communist* is more temperate in tone than much of the literature with which it keeps company and that it has some praiseworthy things to say about religion, democracy and the American economic system should not be permitted to obscure the fact that *it is one of the most successful instruments in a propaganda campaign which blurs the REAL issue of Communism and perverts genuine Americanism.*

To witness against *The Naked Communist* and the ultra-conservative movement in which its author is a persuasive advocate, these statements are submitted in conclusion:

Editorial, **"What Americanism Must Mean,"** *The Deseret News,* October 28, 1961, p. 6.

"The Growing Interest in Americanism being displayed in Utah and elsewhere is highly commendable. But certain precautions must be observed if the dangers of extremism are to be avoided.

"In this regard, the State Advisory Committee on Adult Education in American Citizenship put its finger on a vital point the other day when it noted that citizenship requires more than just anti-communism.

"In other words, it's not enough merely to be against something. What we're for is far more important.

"This point can't be emphasized too strongly, especially in view of the advent of individuals and groups that are arousing the public by stressing what we're fighting against but are neglecting what we're fighting for. This can be dangerous, especially if we sacrifice our own traditions and values in a mistaken effort to 'fight fire with fire.'

"Most of the things we stand for are embodied in our divinely inspired Constitution of the United States; others are traditions of time-tested value.

"We're for free speech and a free press. These rights were not intended merely to permit expressions of support for whatever established authorities or the majority of people decide is proper. These rights are designed to protect those who disagree with the majority, who dissent from the established order, who advance new and perhaps unorthodox ideas.

"We're for the right to dissent, the right to express all opinions regardless of whether they are right or wrong. The dangers of forbidding such a right were noted by John Stuart Mill, who said:

> "If the opinion is right, men are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

hysteria, false alarms, misplaced apprehension by many of our citizens. We need enlightenment about communism—but this information must be factual, accurate and not tailored to echo personal idiosyncrasies. To quote an old aphorism, we need more light and less heat." (*ABA Journal*)

"Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

"These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them." (*Senate Doc. No. 59*)

When such substantial and conservative journals as the *Deseret News, Salt Lake Tribune* (November 5, 1961), *Newsweek* (December 4, 1961), *Time* (December 8, 1961) and *Life* (December 1, 1961) and such responsible citizens as J. Edgar Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy raise their voices against the Skousen approach to patriotism, this reviewer feels no qualms of academic or civic conscience in passing negative judgment on *The Naked Communist.*

Additional copies may be obtained from the author, 1159 Aspen Ave., Provo, Utah. The price, postpaid, is $.25 per single copy; $2.25 for 10. Quantity and trade prices available on request.

REC-42 94-47453-49

April 17, 1962

Sister Mary Shaun
Notre Dame Convent
681 Lawrence Road
Trenton 8, New Jersey

My dear Sister:

Your letter of April 11th has been received, and I can understand the interest which prompted you to write.

I welcome the opportunity to make it perfectly clear that former Special Agents of the FBI are not necessarily experts on communism. Some of them have sought to capitalize on their former employment with this Bureau for the purpose of establishing themselves as such authorities. I am firmly convinced there are too many self-styled experts on communism, without valid credentials and without any access whatsoever to classified, factual data, who are engaging in rumormongering and hurling false and wholly unsubstantiated allegations against people whose views differ from their own. This makes more difficult the task of the professional investigator.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way.

The FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, individual or publication. In view of this, I am sure you will understand why it is not possible for me to comment in the manner you have indicated relative to the other individual you mentioned. Likewise, the same reasons preclude me from commenting on publications not prepared

SEE NOTE & ENCLOSURES NEXT PAGE

JCF:doc/ear
(4)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 5
APR 18 1962
COMM-FBI

APR 17 5 13 PM '62
FBI
REC'D-READING ROOM

Sister Mary Shaun

[redacted] Bureau. May I suggest, however, that in your personal evaluation [redacted] any organization or publication you give careful consideration [redacted] s and whether they are being achieved through orderly, [redacted] s.

Enclosed is some literature I hope you will find to be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (4)
The Courage of Free Men (2-22-62 Speech)
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
Communism and The Knowledge To Combat It!
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?

NOTE: Bufiles contain no derogatory nor additional pertinent information regarding Sister Shaun with whom we have had limited correspondence. Last outgoing 4-12-61. Reprints not being duplicated.

JCF:doc

TRUE COPY

Notre Dame Convent
681 Lawrence Road
Trenton 8, New Jersey

April 11, 1962

Dear Sir;

A recent pamphlet on Communism warned readers to be aware of "experts" on Communism who had been former members of the F. B. I. Having read "The Naked Communist" by Skousen, a former member of the F. B. I., I would appreciate your opinion on the warning as well as Skousen and his book. If it wouldn't be too much additional trouble I would be grateful to know your opinion of Dr Fred Schwarz, his book "You Can Trust the Communists" and his Anti-Communism Crusade.

We are incorporating a course on Communism in our history classes at the present time but much of the literature appearing from day to day is often contradictory and creates new problems.

I would be most grateful for your advice in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Sister Mary Shaun

ltr 4-16-62 dor
encl 4-17-62
ack ltr dor

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Notre Dame Convent
681 Lawrence Road
Trenton 8, New Jersey

April 11, 1962

Dear Sir;

A recent pamphlet and Communism warned readers to be aware of "experts" on Communism who had been former members of the F.B.I. Having read "The Naked Communist" by Skousen, a former member of the F.B.I., I would appreciate your opinion on the warning as well as Skousen and his book. If it wouldn't be too much additional trouble I would be grateful to know your opinion of Dr. Fred Schwarz, his book "You Can Trust the Communists" and his Anti-Communism Crusade.

We are incorporating a course on Communism in our history classes at the present time but must of the

mml/dda ltc 4-16-62 to
acc 4-17-62 Jeffdor

EX-113 REC-42 94-47468-49

13 APR 19 1962

EX-113

39 EX-PROC. 30 APR 13 1962

Ack

literature appearing from day to day is often contradictory and creates need problems.

I would be most grateful for your advice in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Sister Mary Thaun

April 26, 1962

Dr. John E. Olson, Jr.
Glendora Medical Center
118 West Alosta Avenue
Glendora, California

Dear Dr. Olson:

Your letter of April 19, 1962, with enclosure, has been received, and I want to thank you for your kind sentiments and gracious comments concerning my administration of the FBI. I am glad to know of your interest in my book, "Masters of Deceit," and literature issued by this Bureau.

With respect to the publication you enclosed, I am unable, as a matter of policy, to comment on any item not prepared by this Bureau. I am sure you will understand my position in this regard.

Relative to your inquiry on my article which appeared in the February, 1962, issue of the "American Bar Association Journal," I had in mind those individuals who have not taken the time to inform themselves about the strategy, fallacies and aims of communism. Too often such individuals are motivated by an incorrect understanding of the true facts which, of course, leads to false judgments and erroneous conclusions. In this regard, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual.

In view of your interest, enclosed is a complete text of this article, together with some other material I hope will be of assistance to you in your study of the communist menace.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (5)
RLR:jld (3)

(See note and enclosures next page)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 26 4 12 PM '62
RECD-READING ROOM
FBI

MAILED 6
APR 26 1962

Dr. John E. Olson, Jr.

Enclosures (5)
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?
"Faith in God--Our Answer To Communism"
What You Can Do To Fight Communism
4-17-62 Internal Security Statement
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. The author of the publication he enclosed, Richard D. Poll, wrote to the Bureau in April, 1961, requesting information on an individual he believed had been a former employee. This letter was acknowledged on 4-10-61 and he was advised we had no record of such an individual. The publication has been called to our attention in the past and the quotation of the Director's on the cover is taken from Mr. Hoover's article entitled "Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?" and it is correct. The speech by Assistant Director DeLoach which correspondent refers to was made in St. Louis on 1-26-62 before a meeting of the American Bar Association.

Hours by appointment

JOHN E. OLSON, JR., M.D.
Glendora Medical Center
118 West Alosta Avenue
Glendora, California

April 19, 1962

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of the FBI
Washington D.C.

W Cleon Skousen

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am inclosing a recent publication, THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND, by Richard D. Poll. You are quoted on the front cover as follows:

> "'Today far too many self-styled experts on communism are plying the highways of America giving erroneous and distorted information.'"

a Review of

The author fails to quote the warning you also gave pertaining to our youth and education in THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE, Senate Document No. 59, September 23, 1961. I quote:

> "While minimizing the influence of conservative campus groups, the party finds considerable encouragement in the growth of what it describes as 'liberal student political parties' and 'Marxist- and Socialist-oriented groups' on college campuses throughout the country."

You see I have also read THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE and THE NAKED COMMUNIST, and I certainly do not get the implication from your excellant advice that the author attempts to convey in his critique against THE NAKED COMMUNIST and its author, W. Cleon Skousen. THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND appears to me to be a direct attempt to discredit THE NAKED COMMUNIST and W. Cleon Skousen. You seem to be quoted out of context as to direct meaning of your statement.

In the University of Utah student publication, THE DAILY UTAH CHRONICLE, dated April 13, 1962, there is an article entitled THE ROUND TABLE by Chuck Akerlow, Chronicle Columnist. This article is a biased review of Professor Poll's critique against THE NAKED COMMUNIST. The author also concludes his review with your quotation, the direct implication being given that your remarks refer to W. Cleon Skousen and THE NAKED COMMUNIST.

On page 10 of THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND, the following statement is made quoting one of your assistants:

> "Skousen is no readier than his Anti-Communist associates to name names or cite evidence to support his vague and comprehensive attack on Church leadership in America. Cartha D. DeLoach, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, very recently 'assailed persons "who go about the country" charging that such fields as religion, education and labor were being infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers.' Strenuous and devious Red efforts continue, he told a seminar of the

REC-113
94-47468-50
30
6 APR 23 1962

Mr. Poll
Mr. Olson
Mr. Ed

ENCLOSURE
ack 4-26-62
RRR/jrd

ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

American Bar Association, but there has been no substantial infiltration of these areas. (Salt Lake Tribune, January 28, 1962, p. 14A)"

The implied meaning given by the author to this statement does not appear to be in harmony with your testimony before the House SubCommittee on Appropriations, March 6, 1961, pertaining to "Communist front and Communist infiltrated organizations."

I quote your testimony:

"They have infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity; youth groups; radio, television, and motion picture industries; church, school and educational and cultural groups; the press; nationality minority groups and civil and political units."

I would certainly appreciate clarification of the apparent misuse of your statements and those of your assistant, Cartha D. DeLoach, as they pertain to W. Cleon Skousen and THE NAKED COMMUNIST if your position allows you to do so. I would certainly like to know if the "self-styled" experts to which you refer includes W. Cleon Skousen. I would also appreciate any comments you would be allowed to make referable to THE NAKED COMMUNIST.

I am not a member of the John Birch Society, nor do I intend to join. I try to withhold judgment if I have no factual knowledge. I am Vice-President of our local school board, and am an active member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. I have read fairly extensive in an effort to inform myself about Communism. Your numerous publications have been a source of knowledge and truth. I have always felt MASTERS OF DECEIT and THE NAKED COMMUNIST go hand in hand, and I always advise anyone asking me about Communism to start with MASTERS OF DECEIT and follow with THE NAKED COMMUNIST. I have read numerous government pamphlets and reports, and books by reliable former counter-spies. One of the most intriguing books on methods of operation by the Communists is THE REDS TAKE A CITY by John W. Riley, Jr., and Wilbur Schramm, 1951. It pertains to how the Reds took Seoul, all from their own captured documents. It substantiates everything in your book.

In closing may I conclude by saying that I see nothing wrong with encouraging people to become informed about Communism out of the best books available. The study should be kept at an educational level. I am well aware that the President of our Church, David O. McKay, recommended that every member of the Church read THE NAKED COMMUNIST in General Conference, October, 1959. I must admit this makes me somewhat biased in my approach to any critique against THE NAKED COMMUNIST by an intellectual (pseudo-intellectual?) university professor, Brigham Young University not withstanding. Nevertheless, it is for Mr. Skousen, not me, to answer this attack. I am sure he will in a kindly way.

May the Lord bless you and uphold you in your wonderful work in helping to maintain liberty and freedom in this blessed land of ours.

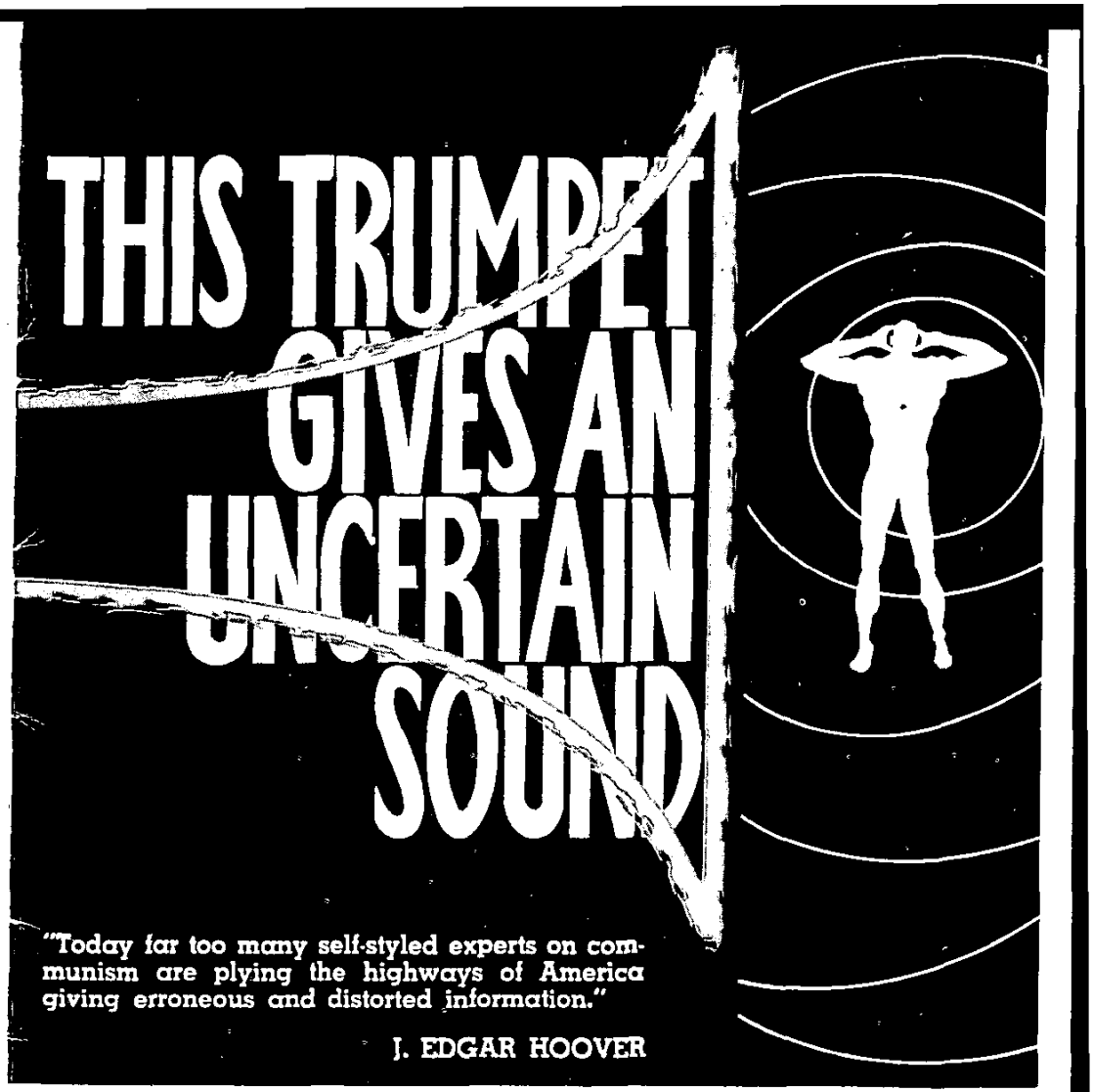
Sincerely yours,

John E. Olson Jr. M.D.

JOHN E. OLSON, JR., M.D.

ENCLOSURE

94-47408 50



a
review
of

W. CLEON SKOUSEN'S

THE NAKED COMMUNIST

by

RICHARD D. POLL

"For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

I Corinthians 14:8

This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound

A

Review

of

W. Cleon Skousen's

THE NAKED COMMUNIST

by

RICHARD D. POLL

FOREWORD

Because I am listed in the preface of *The Naked Communist* as having helped with research at Brigham Young University from which the book ultimately developed, I have felt impelled to set forth some of the reasons why I do not wish to be understood as endorsing the volume. This lack of enthusiasm is widely shared by colleagues in history, political science and economics in the universities of Utah and elsewhere. Louis C. Midgley, Edwin B. Morrell, Melvin P. Mabey and Van L. Perkins made particularly helpful suggestions. The Utah Citizens for Positive American Goals, the Salt Lake Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and many friends encouraged publication and helped to meet the initial costs. Sincere thanks to all of these. The responsibility for the review is, of course, solely mine. If it provokes a closer study of the realities of Communism and a more dispassionate discussion of ways to meet the Red challenge, it will have served its purpose.

RICHARD D. POLL

Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah
March 1962

Copyright 1962 by Richard D. Poll

THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND

A Review

W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist.* 9th ed., 1961. 408 pp.

Although *The Naked Communist* is a best seller in the Anti-Communist movement, it has disqualifying shortcomings as a source of information and as a guide for action against the Communist menace.

Objections to the book include:

1. The inadequacy and inaccuracy of its scholarship.
2. The incorrectness of its analysis of Communism.
3. The inaccuracy of its historical narrative.
4. The unsoundness of its program for governmental action.
5. The extreme partisanship of its program for individual action.
6. The objectionable character of the national movement of which it is a part.

In the following analysis, only rather obvious errors and distortions are cited, to avoid the necessity of detailed explanation and annotation. Every assertion about historical fact and political theory can be documented from reliable authorities. A truly scholarly dissection of *The Naked Communist* would be voluminous.

1. Inadequacy and inaccuracy of scholarship.

While W. Cleon Skousen admittedly bases his claim to expertness on Communism primarily on his FBI experience and continuing contact with inside sources, inaccessible to ordinary scholars, one might expect his book to show familiarity with the works and authors generally regarded as authorities on Communism, Russia and contemporary history. It does not.

The 9th edition of *The Naked Communist,* latest available, lists 109 bibliographical entries (pp. 379-384), only 16 of which have been published since 1940. R. N. Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism*: *An Introduction* (1957), one of the best short treatments of its subject, has a critical bibliography of 155 items, 98 of which are post-1940; Skousen cites only 16 works found in the Carew Hunt list. Even more substantial differences are found between the Skousen bibliography and those of scholars like Sidney Hook, Henry B. Mayo and Merle Fainsod.

Queried on this point, Skousen has admitted that most of his research was done years ago. Most recent scholarship, he states, can safely be ignored because the academic experts of today will be proved as wrong as the experts of earlier years. Only a very limited group of ex-Communists, ex-FBI undercover agents,

ex-military leaders and sensational journalists appear acceptable to Skousen as witnesses on the Communist conspiracy.

Yet the book projects an air of scholarship by freely using such phrases as "experts on Marxism have known" (p. 5), "diplomatic strategists advocated" (p. 126), "official reports tell" (p. 123), "economists have pointed out" (p. 326), and "leaders in literally hundreds of experiments concur" (p. 344). There are at least a hundred such phrases, almost never annotated even where quotation marks are used; 61 quotations are not documented at all.

Use of quotations is frequently questionable. Minor discrepancies occur in citations of the Communist Manifesto (pp. 45, 47, 67). Lenin's famous testament (p. 121) is not accurately rendered, and Otto Ruhle's characterization of Karl Marx (p. 9) is substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage. Dmitry Manuilsky's oft-quoted statement, ". . . we shall smash them with our clenched fist," appears twice (pp. 208, 288), despite questions about its authenticity; the second citation is vaguely footnoted as *"Pravda,* November, 1931," although the head of the Slavic and Central European Division of the Reference Department of the Library of Congress declares that the quotation does not appear in this or any other published Soviet source with which his office is familiar.

The famous "Communist Timetable of Conquest" is described by Senator William F. Knowland, who first published it in the *Congressional Record* (Vol. 100, pp. 5707-08), as "some information which came to me purporting to be an outline of Mao Tse-tung's memorandum on the new program for world revolution, carried to Moscow by Chou En-lai in March of 1953." *The Naked Communist* (p. 254) declares that the document was captured by U. S. military intelligence and that it represents settled policy: ". . . Red leaders decided to set up a timetable of conquest for the entire world and then take it continent by continent."

Parenthetically, this "Timetable"—a staple in the professional Anti-Communist diet—begins by crediting all the Communist successes to the "profound leadership" and "able and correct guidance" of "Comrade Stalin." It predicts: "By 1960 China's military, economic and industrial power will be so developed that with a mere show of force by the Soviet Union and China, the ruling clique of Japan will capitulate." It also foretells: "With Asia and Africa disconnected with the capitalist countries in Europe, there will be a total economic collapse in Western Europe." The boast that "Twenty years from now [1973] world revolution will be an accomplished fact!" squares badly with Khrushchev's recent announcement to the 22nd Communist Party Congress that in 1980 the Soviet Union will be economically ahead of the still functioning and still capitalistic United States. As prophecy, the "Red Timetable" hardly seems worth the attention which Skousen accords it.

2. Incorrectness of analysis of Communism.

In his zeal to demonstrate the absolute evil of Communism, Skousen describes Marxist-Leninist theory in terms to which serious exception can be taken. Since Communism, accurately described, is no less repugnant to the American way of life than the Skousen version, only a few inaccuracies will be cited.

"Communism undertakes to replace Judaic-Christian morals with a complete absence of morals." (p. 52) Communism argues that morals are relative to the stage of development of human society and has different sets for capitalist and Communistic societies.

"Everything is a product of accumulated accident. There is no design. There is no law." (p. 354) Communism is strongly deterministic and predicts its own victory on the basis of the laws of history which are fundamental in Marxist thought.

The indiscriminate lumping of all forms of atheism, agnosticism, relativism, collectivism, totalitarianism, nihilism and Hegelian idealism into a category called "materialism" permits identifying all forms of wickedness with Marxism, but it does not produce a clear or accurate conception of Communist "dialectical materialism." (pp. 33-42, 347-78)

The exposure of Communist fallacies (pp. 61-88) ignores the substantial changes which have occurred in the content of that ideology over the years. We are reminded that the goal of world revolution remains, but we read nothing about the drastic and repeated revamping of doctrine on such basic matters as nationalism, family life, wages and distribution, property ownership, party organization and tactics, coexistence with capitalism, and the sequence and timetable of revolution. The transformation of Communism from a worldwide revolutionary crusade into a tool of Soviet and Chinese foreign policies is extensively developed (pp. 109-54), but the logical conclusion that the threat of Communism to the United States now lies more in the realm of power politics than ideological subversion is rejected. Presumably the recent macabre campaign against Stalin and the Sino-Soviet wrangle over Albania are simply stage maneuvers to deceive the West.

More reliable analyses of Communism are to be found in Carew Hunt, already cited, and in Henry B. Mayo, *Introduction to Marxist Theory* (1960). Less technical but helpful are the paperbacks by Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists* (1955); Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, *What We Must Know About Communism* (1958); Alfred G. Meyer, *Communism* (1960); and Arthur P. Mendel (ed.), *Essential Works of Marxism* (1961). J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit* (1958) is very valuable on Communism in America.

3. Inaccuracy of historical narrative.

Since none of the standard treatments of Russian history, recent United States history or recent international relations is apparently utilized, the limitations of *The Naked Communist* as history can be expected to show. They do.

Some of the discrepancies are minor matters of fact, like the identification of Bakunin's anarchism and the Russian Populist movement with Marxism (pp. 24, 91-93) and the declaration that 46,000,000 Russian peasants were still serfs in 1885 (p. 90). Serfdom was abolished in 1861, but the condition of the peasants improved very slowly and populism, anarchism, Marxism and several other forms of radicalism were propagated among them in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

More serious are interpretations of history in which Skousen breaks with most scholarly writers. Very doubtful generalizations include:

1. United States recognition prevented the overthrow of Stalin in 1933, (pp. 124-26) From the assertion in one journalistic biography that Stalin faced imminent overthrow in 1932 and the obvious fact that he was in control of affairs by 1934, Skousen draws the conclusion that U. S. recognition explains the shift. The difference between stating that recognition was one of several factors which improved Stalin's prospects and inferring that he might have fallen if recognition had been withheld may seem a subtle one, but it is the kind of distinction which a reader of this book must constantly make. It is the distinction between Skousen's "devil theory" of history and objective analysis of the multiple causes of important historical developments.

2. "World War II was fomented and used by the Russian leaders" as part of their strategy of Communist expansion. (pp. 155-61) One Soviet officer who defected prior to 1939 is relied on for this interpretation. That Stalin feared war and maneuvered ruthlessly to turn Hitler toward the West is clear, but that he wanted war and expected to direct it toward world revolution is contradicted by the surprise, dismay and almost panic with which he reacted to the German attack in 1941.

3. "Anyone familiar with the Communist Constitution of Russia will recognize in the United Nations Charter a similar format." (p. 172) This is on a par with the declaration that a present goal of Communist policy is to "Promote the UN as the only hope for mankind." (p. 260) The similarity which Skousen sees is between the "fervent declaration of democratic principles" in each document and the "constitutional restriction and procedural limitation" which follow. The preamble and "checks and balances" in the United States Constitution can with equal validity be cited to show that the UN Charter follows our model. But the author of *The Naked Communist* is so intent on making the UN a part of the Communist conspiracy that he ignores the obvious and continuing Soviet effort to discredit and destroy that organization.

4. The Communist victory in China was caused by American "stupidity, incompetence or worse." (pp. 181-89, 251) Skousen belongs to that group of Americans who are convinced that our country can never lose except when someone deliberately chooses to give in. There is no place in his world view for circumstances beyond control, dilemmas, or even honest errors in judgment. That the Communist conquest of China wasa disaster is clear, but that it could have been prevented by anything less than a military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest is still disputed by many Americans who are neither "stupid, incompetent or worse."

5. The Castro victory in Cuba resulted from the same "stupidity," incompetence or worse" in Washington, Batista being described in very apologetic terms. (pp. 237-52) A single highly partisan and sensationalistic work is given as authority. The comments made in the preceding paragraph apply here, too; Batista and Castro were a choice of evils, and against the background of a Latin America in genuine political, economic and social revolution, the policy preference for Castro does not require treason for explanation. The fact that the United States can crush Castro by force if it becomes in our vital interest to do so, argues against panicking while we try to help his own follies to destroy him and the Communist beachhead in Latin America.

6. "Without our tolerance and help the Communist empire would never have become the second strongest power in the earth." (p. 288) This is the book's historical thesis, and the eminent British historian, D. W. Brogan, had something like it in mind when he wrote during the McCarthy era: "Many, very many Americans, it seems to me, find it inconceivable that an American policy, announced and carried out by the American government, acting with the support of the American people, does not immediately succeed. If it does not, this, they feel, must be because of stupidity or treason." (Quoted by James E. Clayton in *The Washington Post,* August 8, 1961). Apart from its inaccuracy, the "scapegoat theory" of history blinds us to real problems, real causes, and practical approaches to problem-solving.

The pervasive insistence that at almost every crucial juncture since 1933 the United States has taken the wrong course in her dealings with Russia and Communism, that in every case a better alternative was available, and that the failure to pursue that alternative reflects "stupidity, incompetence or worse," is not only historically objectionable but almost certain to undermine public confidence in our fundamental governmental institutions and processes.

4. Unsoundness of program for governmental action.

Its recommendations for action are paramount objections to *The Naked Communist.* Skousen's own excuse for inaccuracies which have been pointed out to him is that the important job, after all, is to alert people to the Red menace. But if the programs proposed for the aroused citizenry are improper, even dangerous, then Goethe's observation becomes timely:

"There is nothing so terrible as ignorance in action."

The Skousen formulas for governmental and individual action are set forth in Chapter XII, "The Future Task." (9th ed., pp. 253-88) The chapter begins with the dubious "Communist Timetable," already discussed. By the book's own analysis, *none* of the *specific* commitments in the timetable has yet been achieved; still the conclusion is reached: "Some phases of this plan of conquest have been frustrated, but other phases are far ahead of expectations. Considered overall, the Communist Timetable of Conquest is alarmingly close to being right on schedule." (p. 258)

Next is a 45-point list of "Current Communist Goals" (pp. 259-62), which needs only to be compared with J. Edgar Hoover's *The Communist Party Line,* to reveal how wide of the mark Skousen is. (Hoover's statement was published on September 23, 1961, by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as *Senate Document No. 59,* 87th Cong., 1st Sess.) Items 4, 9, 11, 22, 38, 39 and 45 on the Skousen list are incredible. A number of the others are given unwarranted application in the programs which this book advocates.

Skousen's proposals for governmental action against the Communist threat abroad are: (pp. 263-275)

1. Expel Russia and her satellites from the UN.
2. Sever diplomatic relations with all the Communist nations.
3. Establish a complete economic blockade of the Communist world.

This program will purportedly aggravate economic distress within the Red bloc, cause satellite uprisings, and lead to the speedy collapse of the whole Communist system. To use Skousen's phrase, this is the way "to pull the blustering bully down." (p. 5)

That the program has virtually no acceptance outside the professional Anti-Communist movement invites skepticism. Obvious questions include:

How will the cooperation of more than 90 other non-Communist nations be secured, without which the program cannot be implemented? Will all non-cooperators be added to the quarantined group? Is this not a program for isolating the United States, rather than isolating our adversary? Even if it were in the interest of the United States, it is not within our power to impose such a program on the UN or the world community.

What justifies the confidence in non-recognition and non-intercourse when they have consistently failed to produce desired results in the past? Non-intercourse precipitated the War of 1812; non-recognition had no measurable effect on Russia from 1917 to 1933; and non-recognition and non-intercourse have neither intimidated nor overthrown the Red Chinese regime.

What is Skousen's evidence of the economic vulnerability of the Communist bloc? Their third of the world has abundant manpower, lacks few basic resources, and is, at a terrible price, developing technology and industrial capacity. To outdistance the Soviets in production competition and make a lie of Khrushchev's boast to bury us is essential and within our power, but economic warfare has little to contribute to this generation-long race. There is a place for selective economic pressures in stimulating negotiations or in adding to the difficulties of weak governments. But even the blocking of food sales from a China in famine is as likely to increase the terrorism and belligerence of the Red rulers as it is to produce their overthrow.

What happens if our author is wrong and his program simply divides the world totally without producing revolution in the Communist part? Orwell's *1984* might be one result; a war of desperation might be another. If the Communist leaders are as ideologically dedicated as this book insists, there is every likelihood that they will prefer war to surrender. If they are, as much evidence suggests, hard-headed political realists, then they can best be dealt with by programs which do not reduce the choices to "all or nothing at all."

5. Extreme partisanship of program for individual action.

This is the most undesirable feature of *The Naked Communist,* because here Skousen makes clear what he is *really* after, and this is what too many patriotic and well-meaning citizens are accepting as true Americanism.

The thesis is: "Fighting Communism, Socialism and the subversion of constitutional government is everybody's job." (p. 275).

The technique is to define anything which disagrees with Skousen's ultra-conservative opinions as "Communism, Socialism and subversion," and so to equate patriotism and morality with reading certain one-sided books and supporting a highly partisan political, economic and social creed.

The section entitled "What Can the Ordinary Individual Do? (pp. 275-88) spells things out in detail. Here are a few illustrations:

From "Suggestions to Parents" (pp. 276-77):

"Do not fall for the 'permissive' school of psychology which says discipline will harm human development. Such thinking produces hoodlums with maladjusted personalities who are likely to fall for every 'ism' that comes along." Because Skousen disproves of modern psychology and "progressive education," he sets up a "straw man" which corresponds to no responsible viewpoint in either field and then makes a patriotic requirement out of knocking it over.

"Be active in PTA. If you are not, Communists and centralized planners will take over." Making synonyms out of such words as "Communist, centralized planner, socialist, welfare stater, liberal" and even "internationalist" and "desegregationist" is a standard technique of the extreme right; Skousen avoids only the last of these in his vocabulary of un-Americanisms. J. Edgar Hoover and other unimpeachable patriots have warned that the linking of all types of political reformism or dissent with Communism does a real disservice to the country.

"Where you have older children, make current events part of the dinner table talk. Be quick to point out left-wing slanting of news, TV or radio broadcasts. There is far more of this slanting than most people realize." No names are named, it being a conventional alarmist technique to suggest that danger is everywhere by locating it nowhere. From his argument elsewhere, one must infer that "left-wing slanting" means speaking without emotion about social security, labor unions or Nehru and that the loyal commentators are Dan Smoot, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Clarence Manion.

From "Suggestions for Teachers" (pp. 277-80):

"Beware of those who come pretending to help education when they are trying to seize control of education. Socialist and Communist planners have ambitions to eliminate all local control. . . ." "Be alert to the fact that education was infiltrated by the Socialist-Communist contingent over thirty-five years ago. . . . Because they were hard workers they gained sweeping control of some of our most respected institutions." Again, no names, no evidence, and the lumping together of diverse radicalisms as a single, omnipresent enemy. John Dewey, Columbia Teachers College and advocates of Federal aid to education as as liable to criticism as other elements in our free society, but they are not products of the Communist conspiracy.

"Watch for slanted passages in textbooks. Socialist authors have invaded the textbook field. . . . 'Brainwashing in the High Schools,' by E. Merrill Root, is an analysis of 11 American history books which reflect the destructive left-wing analysis." To Skousen, "socialist authors" are apparently writers who find anything wrong with American policies and leaders prior to 1932 or anything right about them since the advent of the New Dealers. Root's chauvinism is so blatant that he objects to applying the term "imperialism" to our country's relations with the Philippines and Panama at the turn of the century. Other titles suggested for teachers by the author of *The Naked Communist* (pp. 278-79) are of the same intemperate quality.

"Encourage patriotic speakers at school assemblies. Excellent films are also available." A Skousen favorite is "Communism on the Map," which is now being replaced by an up-dated version called "Communism 1961." The replacement corrects some of the factual errors but stresses the same grim theme that the world is already mostly lost to Communism-socialism-welfare statism-liberalism. The film's producer, Glenn A. Green, has since become a field representative of the John Birch Society.

From "Suggestions for Businessmen" (pp. 281-83):

"Work for a more equitable tax structure which is not arbitrary and confiscatory." This is a meritorious suggestion, but of limited relevance to fighting Communism, unless the author belongs to that school which brands the income tax as a Communist device which ought to be abolished.

"Be careful not to contribute to an organization until you know it is a bona fide patriotic group. . . . If you are a member of the American Security Council, you can check on any organization or any individual through their files." Skousen is field director of the American Security Council, which declares itself to be the largest civilian clearing house for "factual information about Communism and other statist activities." It maintains files on a very large number of people who have been active in liberal, radical or genuinely subversive enterprises and draws no clearer distinctions between these categories than does its field representative.

From "Suggestions to the Press" (pp. 285-86):

"In fulfilling the task of exposing crime, corruption and inefficiency in the American culture, be careful not to destroy confidence in American institutions." Apparently no such responsibility rests upon those who describe thirty years of American history and government in terms of "stupidity, incompetence or worse."

From "Suggestions for Ministers" (pp. 286-88):

"The churches became a major target for Communist-Socialist infiltration many years ago. These people were successful in capturing many key positions in a number of important religious organizations. Some religious leaders openly advocate and defend Communist principles." Skousen is no readier than his Anti-Communist associates to name names or cite evidence to support this vague and comprehensive attack on church leadership in America. Cartha D. DeLoach, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, very recently "assailed persons 'who go about the country' charging that such fields as religion, education and labor were being infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers." Strenuous and devious Red efforts continue, he told a seminar of the American Bar Association, but there has been no substantial infiltration of these areas. (Salt Lake *Tribune,* January 28, 1962, p. 14A)

"Be alert to detect those who use 'Social Christianity' to cover up the fact that they are not Christians at all." Skousen's inference that Christians who do not share his own rigorous fundamentalism are probably subversive is unfair, and his insistence on linking loyalty with religious commitment is unwarranted. Communism is certainly a dire threat to organized religion, but it is also a threat

to the unchurched, the pagan, the agnostic, the humanist, and even the atheist who believes in human freedom. Sincere and patriotic opponents of Communism may be found in all these categories.

"Be alert to the drive by certain analytical psychiatrists to have ministers accept their amoral philosophy." This should be considered in connection with Skousen's statement (p. 262) that one of the Communist goals is to "Dominate the psychiatric profession and use mental health laws as a means of gaining coercive control over those who oppose Communist goals." To the person who sees the psychiatrist's couch as a tool of subversion, the conclusion readily follows: "Today Communism is advancing on all fronts." (p. 288)

Finally, from "Suggestions for Students" (pp. 280-81):

"When you run across dedicated Socialists, remember that the only difference between a Socialist and a Communist is the method of takeover. . . . In reality the two are twins."

The writer of this review is no Socialist (or Communist, for that matter),* but he insists that this kind of blurred thinking ill-equips students or adult citizens to make the accurate distinctions and judgments essential in answering the tremendous question: "What *are* the proper functions of government in modern society?" Because Skousen unceasingly hammers the point that every increase in governmental activity is a step down the Ambush Trail to collectivist despotism, examination of that argument seems appropriate here.

First, it is important to remember that the term "socialist" has a very specialized meaning in Marxist-Leninist thought as it has evolved in the Union of Soviet *Socialist* Republics. It is the system which prevails during the "dictatorship of the proletariat" stage of history, when wage and class distinctions and police state measures are regarded as necessary and proper. This "socialism" does not precede the Communist seizure of power, it *follows* it. As early as 1936 Stalin said that the USSR was nearing the close of this "transitional" period; as late as 1961 Khrushchev said it again. Actually, the stateless, classless society of "pure communism" is no nearer in the Soviet Union than it was 40 years ago, and there is much to suggest that it is unattainable by the road which the Communist regimes are currently following.

In any case, this is not the meaning which is given to the word "socialism" by those, like the author of *The Naked Communist,* who identify socialism with Communism in their propaganda against governmental programs with which they disagree. They mean "socialism" in the generalized sense of governmental ownership or direction of the means of production and distribution of goods or services, and they feverently avow that all much measures lead inexorably to Red dictatorship.

Three historically demonstrable points need to be made about this contention:

1. Socialism in a comprehensive or "blueprint for Utopia" sense has never had very great appeal in the United States and has very few adherents

*I have been a delegate to the Utah State Republican Party Conventions in 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1960, and I am convinced that the need for *responsible* conservatism was never greater in America. RDP

today. What numerically significant groups in our country are at present advocating the nationalization of any sector of our production and distribution system, or even any substantial extension of controls? The basic commitment of the whole American people to a private enterprise economy is probably stronger now than at any other time since the Civil War.

2. Socialism in the more pragmatic sense of using government to support or provide certain specific goods or services not satisfactorily obtainable elsewhere has *not* been regarded by any past American generation as incompatible with our basic ideals about life, liberty and property. From public schools and post offices we have moved with changing circumstances to national and state parks, freeways and social security, being satisfied that no fundamental threat to liberty exists as long as we can modify or abolish programs if we wish, or "throw the rascals out" if they administer them too badly. We have not regarded *our* government as an enemy, as Skousen and his fellow rightists apparently do.

3. The strongest and most vigorous democracies in the world—and our best allies—are nations which combine a high degree of private enterprise with broad public programs of a "welfare state" character. In all of these the Communists have declined in numbers and influence since 1945, and the likelihood of any of them succumbing to Red subversion is virtually nil. The danger of Communist revolution is greatest today in those areas where governments are most indifferent to human needs. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that *The Naked Communist* has no substantial suggestions on how to prevent the Communists from capturing the "revolution of rising expectations" which is now sweeping these areas.

This reviewer has repeatedly invited Skousen and other advocates of the "liberalism-is-socialism-is-communism" persuasion to name a single nation in human history which has traversed the Ambush Trail from democratic "welfare statism" to Communism. The invitation is again extended here.

There are valid and impressive conservative arguments against many current proposals to extend the functions of government in such directions as education, resource development, agriculture and medical care. But the contention that they lead inevitably to dictatorship, and that those who support them are therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, helping the Communist conspiracy, is *not* one of them. In promoting the viewpoint. *The Naked Communist* makes no contribution to enlightened public discussion of domestic political issues or to the development of healthy citizenship attitudes among students.

6. Objectionable character of Skousen's Anti-Communist movement.

Much of the market for *The Naked Communist* is in connection with "Anti-Communist Seminars," "Freedom Forums" and "Project Alerts," in which inaccurate history and negative programs are expounded in an evangelical blend of fear, hatred and pulse-pounding enthusiasm. Participants are admonished to study Communism, and they end up buying tracts by Gerald L. K. Smith and his racist cohorts, confessionals of ex-Communists, spy stories and other volumes which excite more than they inform. They are aroused to *fight Communism,* and they end up demanding U. S. withdrawal from the UN and the firing of

teachers who advocate federal aid to education. They are solicited to contribute to the Anti-Communist crusade, and they end up subsidizing pamphlets calling for the repeal of the income tax and the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren. Skousen has apologized for the fact that, in one of his own rallies in Los Angeles on December 13, 1961, a speaker said that the Chief Justice deserves to be hanged, but one can still question the usefulness of an "educational campaign" which uses men of such opinions as teachers.

The fact that *The Naked Communist* is more temperate in tone than much of the literature with which it keeps company and that it has some praiseworthy things to say about religion, democracy and the American economic system should not be permitted to obscure the fact that *it is one of the most successful instruments in a propaganda campaign which blurs the REAL issue of Communism and perverts genuine Americanism.*

To witness against *The Naked Communist* and the ultra-conservative movement in which its author is a persuasive advocate, these statements are submitted in conclusion:

Editorial, **"What Americanism Must Mean,"** *The Deseret News,* October 28, 1961, p. 6.

"The Growing Interest in Americanism being displayed in Utah and elsewhere is highly commendable. But certain precautions must be observed if the dangers of extremism are to be avoided.

"In this regard, the State Advisory Committee on Adult Education in American Citizenship put its finger on a vital point the other day when it noted that citizenship requires more than just anti-communism.

"In other words, it's not enough merely to be against something. What we're for is far more important.

"This point can't be emphasized too strongly, especially in view of the advent of individuals and groups that are arousing the public by stressing what we're fighting against but are neglecting what we're fighting for. This can be dangerous, especially if we sacrifice our own traditions and values in a mistaken effort to 'fight fire with fire.'

"Most of the things we stand for are embodied in our divinely inspired Constitution of the United States; others are traditions of time-tested value.

"We're for free speech and a free press. These rights were not intended merely to permit expressions of support for whatever established authorities or the majority of people decide is proper. These rights are designed to protect those who disagree with the majority, who dissent from the established order, who advance new and perhaps unorthodox ideas.

"We're for the right to dissent, the right to express all opinions regardless of whether they are right or wrong. The dangers of forbidding such a right were noted by John Stuart Mill, who said:

> "If the opinion is right, men are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

hysteria, false alarms, misplaced apprehension by many of our citizens. We need enlightenment about communism—but this information must be factual, accurate and not tailored to echo personal idiosyncrasies. To quote an old aphorism, we need more light and less heat." (*ABA Journal*)

"Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

"These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them." (*Senate Doc. No. 59*)

When such substantial and conservative journals as the *Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Tribune* (November 5, 1961), *Newsweek* (December 4, 1961), *Time* (December 8, 1961) and *Life* (December 1, 1961) and such responsible citizens as J. Edgar Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy raise their voices against the Skousen approach to patriotism, this reviewer feels no qualms of academic or civic conscience in passing negative judgment on *The Naked Communist.*

Additional copies may be obtained from the author, 1159 Aspen Ave., Provo, Utah. The price, postpaid, is $.25 per single copy; $2.25 for 10. Quantity and trade prices available on request.

REC-9 94-1[illegible]-51

April 27, 1962

APR 27 11 14 AM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Mr. Robert D. Dellwo
Dellwo, Rudolf and Grant
1010 Old National Bank Building
Spokane 1, Washington

Dear Mr. Dellwo:

Your letter of April 18th to Assistant Director William C. Sullivan has been brought to my attention, and it was good of you to invite him to speak on the subject of communism and national defense in Spokane.

While we appreciate your invitation, the pressure of official business as well as Mr. Sullivan's uncertain schedule precludes designating him to participate in the program you mentioned. I regret we are unable to cooperate with you in this matter but trust you will understand.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 6
APR 27 1962
COMM-FBI

1 - Seattle - Enclosure
1 - Mr. William C. Sullivan

NOTE: Bufiles reflect Dellwo was a former Agent who EOD 6-29-42 and resigned 5-8-48. He was given a good exit performance rating but his SAC was of the opinion that Dellwo was a "schemer" and recommended against reinstatement. On 12-26-50, in regard to a question concerning his possible reinstatement, Mr. Tolson stated "Give no encouragement." It is noted Dellwo is on our mailing list to receive the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin. In William C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont memorandum of 4-24-62, it was noted that this invitation should be declined in view of our curtailment of speeches on communism.

JCF:lml
(6)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D WFO

XEROX
MAR 27 19[illegible]

LAW OFFICES
DELLWO, RUDOLF & GRANT

ROBERT D. DELLWO
KERMIT M. RUDOLF
WILLIAM J. GRANT

1010 OLD NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
SPOKANE 1, WASHINGTON
MADISON 4-5369

April 18, 1962

Mr. William Sullivan
Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

We have just finished the treatment in Spokane in a large coliseum "Freedom Day" "Town Hall - Target Communism." The principal speakers in the evening were Robert Morris and Cleon Skousen and in the afternoon were Dr. Wyvell, Jose Norman and others. Whereas, about 2500 attended the afternoon session, 7500 attended the evening session. Without going into it, I am sure you know exactly what they said, probably the same they have said every place else. In general, the Robert Morris talk which was broadcast over radio and TV was to the extent that we have been retreating from Communism since 1946, helping them instead of slowing them down by our ignorant stupid foreign policies. Skousen generally keeping the people scared and then at the end of his talk enunciated what he termed an extremely simple solution to the whole problem. First to send a shower of letters to our congressmen and senators to clean house in the state department. Second, to rewrite the UN Charter. Third, to outlaw the Communist party. Fourth, to break relations with the whole Sino-Soviet Bloc. Fifth, to use a universal embargo against this bloc by all the other nations. His general approach was that on the left was totalitarianism. On the right was anarchy. Along side of totalitarianism was international communism, next to it was fascism, next to it were the socialists then the social democrats, and in the middle were wings one and two of the conservatives and liberals of the United States. His approach from there on out is probably quite familiar to you.

The main point of this letter is to point out that 7500 people attended the evening meeting, there was a large radio audience and the whole thing was televised. We feel we can put on a similar event at a later date with a completely new non-controversial sponsoring organization, presenting speakers of national reputation on the subject of communism and national defense. In this regard, is there any possibility that you could participate in such a program, assuming absolute and complete insulation from any of the extremist group that put on this current Town Hall. If there is any possibility of this at all, we will go to work on it. But if there isn't I would like to know in advance so that we can drop the matter.

REC-9 94-47752-51 EX-114 1962 PERS. REC. UNIT

The family has been getting along exceedingly well. We just passed through another swimming meet. I guess I told you that has become a sort of family sport. One of our daughters is the Inland Empire champion. One of our boys is quite a diver. We have two others who compete. All of them did exceptionally well. We are being catapulted toward another summer which I hope we can enjoy more leisurely than the last. But with so much activity, I suppose we will be running all the time again.

We surely enjoyed seeing you and Marian in Washington. Should there be a chance that you could get out to Spokane on the affair I mentioned above, it would surely be nice if you could bring all the family or at least part of them.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT D. DELLWO

RDD:fb

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOV

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 24, 1962

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
1 - Mr. D. E. Mooré
1 - Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT:

ROBERT D. DELLWO
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
1010 OLD NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
SPOKANE 1, WASHINGTON

Reference is made to the enclosed letter to me from the above-captioned person, a former FBI Agent who remains a very intelligent and staunch supporter of the Bureau.

In this letter, he asks if I could lecture on communism to a gathering of some 7,500 people whom he thinks it is possible to organize in Spokane, Washington. He would work out a complete program for the event at some convenient date. While undoubtedly, this would be a worthwhile affair, I do not think the invitation should be accepted in view of our curtailment of speeches on communism.

Further, it is to be noted that this event would be held as a counter to a similar affair held just recently in Spokane, where the principal speakers were extreme right-wingers such as Cleon Skousen. Approximately 7,500 attended this gathering.

I think it is of interest to the Bureau to note what Mr. Dellwo has to say about Skousen:

"Skousen generally keeping the people scared and then at the end of his talk enunciated what he termed an extremely simple solution to the whole problem. First to send a shower of letters to our congressmen and senators to clean house in the State Department. Second, to rewrite the UN Charter. Third, to outlaw the Communist Party. Fourth, to break relations with the whole Sino-Soviet Bloc. Fifth, to use a universal embargo against this bloc by all the other nations. His general approach was that on the left was totalitarianism. On the right was anarchy. Along side of totalitarianism was international communism, next to it was fascism, next to it were the socialists then the social democrats, and in the middle were wings one and two of the conservatives and liberals of the United States. His approach from there on out is probably quite familiar to you."

Enclosure
WCS:baw
(8)

REC. 9

CRIME RESEARCH

NOTED

EX-114

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
Re: Robert D. Dellwo
Attorney-At-Law
Spokane, Washington

It is believed that a cordial letter from the Director, declining the invitation, should be sent to Mr. Dellwo.

RECOMMENDATION:

This memorandum be referred to the Crime Records Division for handling.

PERS. REC. UNIT

REC- 49

April 20, 1962

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen
2197 Berkeley Street
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Mr. Skousen:

I have received the copy of your book entitled "So You Want To Raise A Boy?" It was thoughtful of you to inscribe this book to me, and I appreciate your kind comments.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Skousen entered on duty on 10-24-35, as a Messenger, was appointed an Agent on 6-17-40, and resigned 10-5-51, services satisfactory. Recently he has been most active in extreme right-wing organizations and any contacts with him have been most circumspect.

DWB:ear
(5)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 20 1962
COMM-FBI

XEROX

DG-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Jones
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Mrs. Metcalf
Mr. Gandy

April 19, 1962

The attached book, "So You Want to Raise a Boy?" by W. Cleon Skousen, was mailed to the Director by The Ensign Publishing Company, P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City 10, Utah.

It has been inscribed as follows:

"April 6, 1962

"To My Friend and Former "Boss"
John Edgar Hoover

"Here is another book I was motivated in writing as a result of my experience and training in the FBI.

"I am only one of the millions of people to whom you will always be a source of great affection and warm admiration

"Sincerely

"W. Cleon Skousen"

hcw

ENCLOSURE

REC-49 94-47468-50

90 MAY 2 1962

XEROX MAY 9 1962

PERS. REC. UNIT

CONTENTS: BOOK, EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

The Ensign Publishing Company, P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City 10, Utah

To: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington DC

17 DIRECTOR
4-19-62

94-47468-53
ENCLOSURE

REC-50 62-47468-54

May 23, 1962

Reverend Harry H. Feistner
Route 1
Oregon, Illinois

Dear Mr. Feistner:

Your letter of May 17, 1962, with enclosure, has been received.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way. I cannot, therefore, make any comment regarding the contents of his book.

Enclosed is some literature I thought would be of interest to you. Some of it contains suggestions all of us can use in fighting communism. Maybe you will also want to read my book, "Masters of Deceit," which was written with the hope it would furnish Americans with an insight into the true nature of communist activities. This book should be available at your local library or bookstores. The self-addressed, stamped envelope you so thoughtfully forwarded is being returned.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Enclosures (6)
Correspondent's enclosure
Communism and The Knowledge To Combat It!
Deadly Duel
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny
Do You Really Understand Communism
The Communist Menace

SAW:bis* (3)

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

MAILED 19 MAY 23 1962 COMM-FBI

50 JUN 5 1962

FBI MAY 23 3 51 PM '62 TELE. & READING ROOM

XEROX JUN 4 1962

EMMANUEL EV. LUTHERAN CHURCH
Oregon (Paynes Point), Ill.

ST. JAMES EV. LUTHERAN CHURCH
Forreston (West Grove), Ill.

Rev. H. Feistner, Pastor, R.R. 1, Oregon, Ill.
Phone 2-2424

May 17, 1962

Dear Sirs at the F.B.I.,

I am reading the book "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen. It seems to me to be almost unbelievable. Would you please indicate on the bottom of this letter whether or not the book is authentic. It was put out by The Ensign Publishing Company, Salt Lake City, Utah. It has 408 pages and ends with an index on that last page. If this book is the truth....you will have one man here, who is willing to dedicate himself to the cause of spreading its message.

Thank you.

In Christ's Service,

Harry H. Feistner

Harry H. Feistner

mrc

I mail
returned

ack 5-23-62
SAW, lic

REC-50 94-47468-54

EX-105 JUN 4 1962

MAY 24 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

PERS. REC. UNIT

REC-5394-4 55

May 31, 1962

BOI XH Reverend Harry H. Feistner
Route 1
Oregon, Illinois

PERS. REF.

MAY 31 5 17 PM '62
FBI
REC'D-READING ROOM

Dear Mr. Feistner:

Your communication postmarked May 26th with enclosure has been received.

As I pointed out in my letter of May 23rd, I cannot make any comment regarding the contents of the book by Mr. W. Cleon Skousen. A policy of long standing precludes my expressing any views on material other than that prepared by this Bureau or me.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 29
MAY 31 1962
COMM-FBI

REC'D - JUSTICE
MAY 31 5 18 PM '62

NOTE: By letter dated May 17th correspondent ask the Director if Skousen's book "The Naked Communist" was authentic. He indicated if it were true, he would be "willing to dedicate himself to the cause of spreading its message!" Bulet of 5-23-62 indicated the Director could not comment on the contents of the book. In addition, material on Communism was sent and he was referred to "Masters of Deceit." Self-addressed, stamped envelope forwarded by correspondent used in reply.

REC'D

SA Wise

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 23, 1962

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Reverend Harry H. Feistner
Route 1
Oregon, Illinois

Dear Mr. Feistner:

Your letter of May 17, 1962, with enclosure, has been received.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way. I cannot, therefore, make any comment regarding the contents of his book.

Enclosed is some literature I thought would be of interest to you. Some of it contains suggestions all of us can use in fighting communism. Maybe you will also want to read my book, "Masters of Deceit," which was written with the hope it would furnish Americans with an insight into the true nature of communist activities. This book should be available at your local library or bookstores. The self-addressed, stamped envelope you so thoughtfully forwarded is being returned.

REC- 53 94-47468-55

Sincerely yours, EX 106

18 MAY 28 1962

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (6)

35 MAY 28 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

PERSONAL

Have read it. V. good!

Ack 5-31-62 SA Wilcox

Thank you — but are the basic facts of the book true — or untrue — ? Please put in an X in the correct spot & return, please. Thank you v. much

Thank you - but are the basic facts of the book true --. or untrue --?

Please Put in an X in correct spot & return, please

Thank you V. much

H. Feistner

REC-22 94-47468-56

June 12, 1962

EX-101

Mrs. Elizabeth Rigby
Chairman
Arizona Association for Mental
Health Facts Committee
Sedona, Arizona

Dear Mrs. Rigby:

Your letter dated June 4, 1962, has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I wish to advise that there is no position in the FBI entitled "Administrative Assistant to the Director"; however, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with this Bureau as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. I trust this information will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles nor can the Arizona Chapter of this organization be so identified. "Arizona Frontiers" is published at Phoenix, Arizona, by Edward Schwartz, who is also the editor. It is a scandal sheet of liberal character and only began publication in the recent past. The December, 1961, issue contained [redacted] nts critical of the Director and the FBI, claiming that t[redacted] "sacred cows" and almost no one has the courage to criti[redacted]n.

JH:blc
(3)

XEROX
JUN 28 1962

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ARIZONA ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH, INC.

A Division of the National Association for Mental Health

June 4, 1962

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

PRESIDENT
JOHN McINNES, D.D.S.
1600 EAST SPEEDWAY
TUCSON, ARIZONA

VICE PRESIDENTS
M. D. GERAGHTY
1501 E. NEILSON
MESA, ARIZONA

ROBERT L. MacDOWELL
7000 EAST CAMELBACK
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA

DOROTHY GILLANDERS, ED.D.
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
TEMPE, ARIZONA

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. MERLE CRAWFORD
BOX 146
COTTONWOOD, ARIZONA

TREASURER
ELI SCHLOSSBERG
ARIZONA STATE HOSPITAL
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

MRS. AUDREY BARKMAN
WINSLOW, ARIZONA

MRS. MARY S. BROOKE
PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

MRS. MARGUERITE DeVILLE
ST. JOHN, ARIZONA

ROY P. DOYLE, ED.D.
TEMPE, ARIZONA

E. S. EDMONSON
NOGALES, ARIZONA

MRS. RICHARD HARLESS
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

IVAN HELLER
TUCSON, ARIZONA

HARRY HOLLAND
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

MRS. ROYAL IRVING
TUCSON, ARIZONA

MRS. ELIZABETH RIGBY
SEDONA, ARIZONA

FLORENCE SCHNEIDER, PH.D.
TUCSON, ARIZONA

AGNES SHARP, PH.D.
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

SIDNEY SMITH, PH.D.
TEMPE, ARIZONA

MRS. GRACE SOLMS
BISBEE, ARIZONA

THE REV. MAC R. STANLEY
COOLIDGE, ARIZONA

MRS. HOWARD SULLIVAN
ELOY, ARIZONA

MRS. MALCOLM TORGERSON
FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA

A. G. WAGNER, M.D.
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

HORACE WARNER, D.V.M.
PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. FAITH I. NORTH

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
MRS. PAULINE WAMPLER

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Because of a distorted and harmful article which he has written concerning the mental health movement, our organization is interested in determining the actual "qualifications" of Mr. W. Cleon Skousen.

As you know, he claims to have been your administrative assistant during World War II. We have recently read, in an article in the Phoenix magazine, Arizona Frontiers, that you have "refuted this claim." Is this correct or not? An answer from you might be helpful to us in replying to local critics of the association's aims.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Rigby

(Mrs.) Elizabeth Rigby
Chairman, AAMH Facts Committee
Sedona, Arizona

PERS. REC. UNIT REC- 22
94-47469-56
10 JUN 8 1962
EX-105 19 xxxx
JUN 28 1962
CORRESPONDENCE

1515 East [illegible] Road, Phoenix 14, Arizona

ARIZONA ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH, INC.
A Division of the National Association for Mental Health

FIGHT MENTAL ILLNESS · RING THE BELL FOR MENTAL HEALTH · MH

June 19, 1962

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

PRESIDENT
JOHN McINNES, D.D.S.
1600 EAST SPEEDWAY
TUCSON, ARIZONA

VICE PRESIDENTS
M. D. GERAGHTY
1501 E. NEILSON
MESA, ARIZONA

ROBERT L. MacDOWELL
7000 EAST CAMELBACK
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA

DOROTHY GILLANDERS, ED.D.
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
TEMPE, ARIZONA

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. MERLE CRAWFORD
BOX 146
COTTONWOOD, ARIZONA

TREASURER
ELI SCHLOSSBERG
ARIZONA STATE HOSPITAL
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

MRS. AUDREY BARKMAN
WINSLOW, ARIZONA

MRS. MARY S. BROOKE
PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

MRS. MARGUERITE DeVILLE
ST. JOHN, ARIZONA

ROY P. DOYLE, ED.D.
TEMPE, ARIZONA

E. S. EDMONSON
NOGALES, ARIZONA

MRS. RICHARD HARLESS
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

IVAN HELLER
TUCSON, ARIZONA

HARRY HOLLAND
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

MRS. ROYAL IRVING
TUCSON, ARIZONA

MRS. ELIZABETH RIGBY
SEDONA, ARIZONA

FLORENCE SCHNEIDER, PH.D.
TUCSON, ARIZONA

AGNES SHARP, PH.D.
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

SIDNEY SMITH, PH.D.
TEMPE, ARIZONA

MRS. GRACE SOLMS
BISBEE, ARIZONA

THE REV. MAC R. STANLEY
COOLIDGE, ARIZONA

MRS. HOWARD SULLIVAN
ELOY, ARIZONA

MRS. MALCOLM TORGERSON
FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA

A. G. WAGNER, M.D.
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

HORACE WARNER, D.V.M.
PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. FAITH I. NORTH

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
MRS. PAULINE WAMPLER

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Just a word of thanks to you for your letter of June 12 in reply to my query concerning W. Cleon Skousen and his former position with the FBI. It was good of you to take the time to answer the question and we do appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Rigby

Mrs. Elizabeth Rigby
Chmn. AAMH Facts Committee
Sedona
Arizona

REC-53 94-47468-37

25 JUN 25 1962

Respond ltr 6-26-62

53 JUL 2 1962

1515 East Osborn Road — Phoenix 14, Arizona — CR 7-5421

June 22, 1962

EX 100
REC- 37

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen
2197 Berkeley Street
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Mr. Skousen:

Your letter of June 12, 1962, with enclosures, has been received. It was kind of you to send me this material.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: See Jones to DeLoach memo dated 6-21-62, captioned "W. Cleon Skousen."

FCS:ear
(6)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Room

JUL 11 1962

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

2197 Berkeley Street
Salt Lake City, Utah
June 12, 1962

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

With each passing day I am more and more grateful for your contribution in writing Masters of Deceit. It not only does an excellent job of telling the story of the Communist conspiracy but with your name and good offices the radical liberal group are apparently afraid to attack this book.

As of the moment, they are concentrating on some of us of lesser stature. For example, the liberal professors of several leading universities combined their efforts to try to discredit The Naked Communist. The spokesman for the group is Dr. Richard Poll who wrote a critique called, "This Trumpet Gives an Uncertain Sound." I understand you have already received several copies of this pamphlet.

From my own standpoint this attack simply demonstrated that there was very little in the entire contents of The Naked Communist that could come under academic criticism, therefore they had to resort to distortion and technicalities to try to make out a case. They even tried to twist one of your statements to support their position.

I have written a rather comprehensive reply to Dr. Poll's attack and I thought you might like to see a copy.

During the past several years a tape recording has been made of practically every public address I have given. I think these will demonstrate that I have been as opposed to extremism as any of these critics. Nevertheless, they have continued to resort to dishonest and inaccurate representations in an effort to creat an image of The Naked Communist and of myself as being proponents of radical extremism.

Even though the current campaign against anyone who speaks out against Communism has driven some of our citizens into silence, I gain the impression that among the American people generally there is still a strong feeling that there has been something seriously wrong with the soft, compromising policies which have done so much to produce the present state of affairs. This deep concern is reflected nearly everywhere we go. Recently Dr. Robert Morris and I were asked to speak at Spokane, Washington. 7,800 people turned out. Later, Eugene Lyons and I spoke to 3,000 in Milwaukee. This demonstrates that while

2 ENCLOSURE

EX 106 REC- 37 94-47411-58

EXP. PROC.
JUN 20 1962

13 JUN 27 1962

the anti-anti-Communist campaign has had its impact, it has not altered the basic fact that the American people realize something has been exceedingly wrong with many of our political policies dealing with the Communist threat.

Knowing how busy you are, I hope you won't even take the time to acknowledge this letter. It is just sent with my deep personal appreciation for the magnificent job you have done in an effort to keep American thinking straight on this and many other subjects.

With admiration and deepest respect.

Sincerely,

W. Cleon Skousen



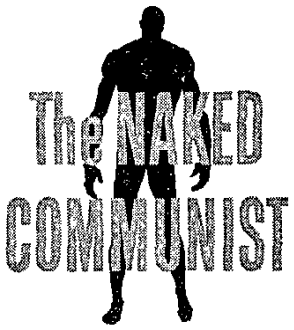
94-47168-58

ENCLOSURE

My Reply to

Dr. Richard D. Poll

and His Critique of



by W. Cleon Skousen

I certainly can understand why Dr. Richard D. Poll felt compelled to write a "critique" against *The Naked Communist*. This book refutes many of Dr. Poll's favorite theories. Apparently Dr. Poll has encountered a number of problems in his attempt to understand Communism and several of these are evident in his attempt to review *The Naked Communist*.

Dr. Poll titles his critique, "This Trumpet (*The Naked Communist*) Gives an Uncertain Sound." In reality, it is not the "uncertainty" of *The Naked Communist* which bothers Dr. Poll. It is the certainty. *The Naked Communist* defines the problem of Communism and then suggests specific ways to deal with it which are just about 180 degrees opposite to the direction which Dr. Poll and several of his academic colleagues have been pointing. On page 7 of his critique Dr. Poll admits that this is what bothers him.

I have no objection to someone disagreeing with what I have said. I do object to distortion and misquotation in an attempt to discredit what I have said. The dictionary describes a critique as "a careful analysis of a literary work." I think it is easy to demonstrate that Dr. Poll has written an attack, not a critique. It is neither careful nor analytical.

Here are the main objections which Dr. Poll makes against this book:

BIBLIOGRAPHY

He objects to the bibliography. He says there are only 109 bibliographical entries when actually there are 169. He says I used only 16 of the books cited by Dr. Carew Hunt of Oxford in his authori-

tative work, *The Theory and Practice of Communism: An Introduction*. Anyone who is really familiar with literature on Communism would realize that Dr. Hunt's bibliography is almost entirely British and French and that most of the books he cites are unavailable to American students. Out of 184 bibliographical entries, Dr. Hunt cites only 16 American sources. My bibliography includes many more.

Dr. Poll objects to the fact that a considerable number of my sources were printed before 1940. Had he been a good analyst of Communist literature he would have recognized that my bibliography includes a large percentage of original Communist sources. Practically all of these were published in America for the first time by the International Publishers of New York between 1930 and 1940. These are the books I have in my library and the ones which I quote.

WHEN DID I DO MY RESEARCH?

Dr. Poll makes a fantastic assertion on page 3 of his critique which must not go unchallenged. He says, *"Skousen has admitted that most of his research was done years ago. Most recent scholarship, he states, can safely be ignored because the academic experts of today will be proved as wrong as experts of earlier years."*

Dr. Poll is referring to a question I was asked at his home on August 10, 1961. While discussing Communist theory, Professor Louis C. Midgley asked me if I did my research for the Naked Communist while I was at the BYU between 1951 and 1956. I told him that most of my research on the theory and early history of Communism was done while I was in the FBI from 1935 to 1951. We then got into a brief discussion of the Neo-Marxists and some of the recent apologists for Communism and I said that I preferred to make my analysis from the original Communist sources and draw my own conclusions because I had found that many modern apologists for Communist theory had tried to twist the original doctrines in an effort to rationalize away their inconsistencies. There is no excuse for Dr. Poll to distort these comments as he has done and then try to quote the distortion as a statement coming from me.

I should also mention that the Naked Communist quotes many

current authors on recent events involving the Communist conspiracy but Dr. Poll ignores these in his attempt to imply that *The Naked Communist* is outdated.

QUOTED MATERIAL

Dr. Poll says *"use of quotations is frequently questionable."* What are some examples? He cites *three* which he feels contain *"minor discrepancies,"* *one* which is not *"accurately rendered,"* and *one* which he claims is *"substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage."*

This is interesting. In his original draft of this critique which he sent to me, Dr. Poll was much stronger. He accused me of being *"deceptive"* and of trying to lead the reader astray with quotations which were *"garbled."* I called him on the telephone and suggested that he go back and check his examples more carefully because they did not reflect too well on his own scholarship.

In its present form the critique is much milder. As an author, especially one who is treating a subject as complex as Communism, I appreciate a suggestion that a particular passage may contain an error of either proofreading or technical content, but an occasional error of this kind does not necessarily reflect on the integrity of an entire book as Dr. Poll originally tried to suggest.

A completely erroneous statement is attributed to me by Dr. Poll on page 7 of his critique. He says: *"Skousen's own excuse for inaccuracies which have been pointed out to him is that the important job, after all, is to alert people to the Red menace."* This is ridiculous. Not at any time have I condoned errors in this book or any other. Dr. Poll claimed I had made this statement at his home. I have talked with several persons who were there and they state that nothing was said on that occasion which could have given Dr. Poll the excuse for such an unwarranted conclusion. In fact, I repeatedly invited several critics who were present to point out any errors in *The Naked Communist* and assured them that I wanted this book to be as accurate as possible.

THE QUOTATION FROM OTTO RUHLE

Now what about Dr. Poll's charge that one quotation from Otto Ruhle was *"substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage?"* What is this distortion? Dr. Poll doesn't tell us. Here is the precise statement in *The Naked Communist* to which Dr. Poll is objecting:

> "At one moment Marx would be called 'the greatest genius of his age,' and a moment later even his disciples would feel forced to call him 'a violent, quarrelsome, contentious man, a dictator and a swash-buckler, one at feud with all the world and continually alarmed lest he should be unable to assert his superiority.' "

Is Dr. Poll objecting because I didn't include all of Ruhle's pleasant comment about Marx's gentleness, kindliness, and capacity for self-sacrifice? This is not part of his admission against interest. I was simply pointing out that even a disciple of Marx was forced to admit that he was a violent, quarrelsome, contentious man, etc. I had already indicated that many admired him and considered him the greatest genius of his age. Where is the distortion, Dr. Poll? In fact, just so the reader would know that I was not over-emphasizing this criticism of Marx by one of his disciples I also cited in the footnote, page 308 of the book, where Ruhle says:

> "If Marx were to fulfill the task which he believed to be his historic mission, he had to take his course straight ahead, relentlessly, brutally, regardless of feelings and sentiments, honour and morality, ties of friendship or affection."

This is Ruhle's attempt to justify the behavior of the "violent, quarrelsome, contentious man," he had previously described. And notice how this passage contradicts Ruhle's previous sentimentalities about Marx's "kindliness" and "friendliness." I think an unbiased reader will find that I treated this passage fairly and without distortion.

THE TEACHINGS OF DIMITRY Z. MANUILSKY

Dr. Poll objects to my using a quoted summary of the teachings of Dimitry Z. Manuilsky because, he says, it cannot be documented.

This is the famous quotation in which Manuilsky is quoted as teaching the following:

> "War to the hilt between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. . . . To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoise will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. *As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with* our clenched fist!"

For some time this quotation was cited from Pravda but the Legislative Reference Division of the Library of Congress could not find it. The history of this quotation has now been ascertained and it is set forth in the 11th edition of *The Naked Communist* as follows: "Quoted by Joseph Z. Kornfeder who was a student at the school. In a letter to Dr. J. D. Bales dated March 7, 1961, Mr. Kornfeder said: 'Enclosed is a copy of the quote you asked for. It is a part of what he (Manuilsky) said to a group of Senior Lenin School students at the Conference held in Moscow, March, 1930, *at which I as one of the students was present.*' "

THE COMMUNIST TIMETABLE OF CONQUEST

Even Dr. Poll admits that Communism is a danger but he criticizes Americans who point back to Mao Tse-tung's memorandum to Moscow in 1953 outlining a program of world conquest. He disparages the prediction of Mao Tse-tung that "twenty years from now (which would be 1973) world revolution will be an accomplished fact." (*Congressional Record*, Volume 100, p. 5708)

Dr. Poll assumes that Khrushchev's admission that Russia cannot catch up with the United States until 1980 as an indication that he expects to co-exist until at least that time. This interpretation is bluntly contradicted by Dr. Stefen T. Possony, author of *A Century of Conflict* and one of America's foremost authorities on Communist

strategy who teaches at Georgetown University. Here is how Dr. Possony described the situation when he appeared before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee on June 16, 1961:

> "The Communists believe that the final decision of the world struggle, and specifically the victory of world communism, will be attained in the present era of history. In their conception, this era seems to extend to 1975 approximately." (*Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 49)

Even Dr. Poll admitted in his talk at the University of Utah on February 24, 1960, that the Communists might isolate the United States. At the Great Issues Forum he declared:

> *"Overt war, for reasons suggested earlier, will probably not be used, but subsidies, subversion, propaganda and threats are potent weapons. It is conceivable that what Hitler called the 'artichoke method' of conquest may in time strip so many leaves from the free world plant that exposed America must fight or be devoured."*

This is exactly what Mao Tse-tung was talking about in 1953, but Dr. Poll says *"As prophecy, the 'Red Timetable' hardly seems worth the attention which Skousen accords it."* (p. 4 of his critique)

DR. POLL ENTANGLES HIMSELF IN COMMUNIST THEORY

Dr. Poll exposes his own superficial concepts of Communism when he attempts to attack the theories of Communism as outlined in *The Naked Communist*.

For example, he cites this statement as inaccurate: "Communism undertakes to replace Judaic-Christian morals with a complete absence of morals." Dr. Poll then takes the position that this isn't true because Communism *"argues that morals are relative to the stage of development of human society and has different sets for capitalist and Communist Societies."* (p. 5)

Anyone who has studied the most elementary aspects of Communism should know that the Communist code of conduct has nothing to do with abstract "right" or "wrong" at any stage of development.

It is easy to demonstrate that the Communist morality is pure expediency. As Lenin said: "We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interest of the class-struggle of the proletariat," which is the Communist rationalization for the justification of imperialistic conquest, mass-murder, mass-starvation and mass-deceit.

This is the way William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party, explained it:

> "With him (the Communist) the end justifies the means. Whether his tactics be 'legal' or 'moral' or not, does not concern him, so long as they are effective. He knows that the laws as well as the current code of morals are made by his mortal enemies. . . . Consequently, he ignores them insofar as he is able, and it suits his purposes." (*Syndicalism* by William Z. Foster, p. 9, which is quoted on the same page of *The Naked Communist* as the statement to which Dr. Poll is objecting and certainly should have helped him understand the point I was making, if, indeed, he wanted to understand it.)

During a recent conversation when I questioned Dr. Poll on this point he argued that theoretically the Communists expect to have their own system of morals after they establish their stateless society. I imagine Dr. Poll hopes they will have some system of morals if they ever reach that stage but Engels supports my position of "no morals at all" when he says: "We therefore reject every attempt to impose on us any moral dogma whatever. . . ." (This is also quoted on the same page of *The Naked Communist* as the passage to which Dr. Poll is objecting.)

As far as the prospect of a stateless society is concerned, Dr. Carew Hunt (whom Dr. Poll properly recommends) says: ". . . all the talk of the disappearance of the State and of the future communal society in which men will work for the good of all, and coercion will no longer be necessary, is *pure mythology.*" (Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism*, MacMillan, New York, 1957, p. 6)

WHAT ABOUT HISTORICAL ACCURACY?

Dr. Poll objects to my calling 46,000,000 Russian peasants "serfs" as of 1885 because he says they had been emancipated by the Tsar in 1861. I gave this exact explanation for this terminology just a few lines later when I said:

> "Between 1861 and 1866, Tsar Alexander II sincerely attempted to do away with the institution of serfdom by approving several *acts of emancipation*. However, for all practical purposes, the impoverished lives of the peasants continued to be insecure, harsh and austere. Circumstances leading to a revolution were in the making." (p. 91)

This is precisely the same view expressed by the Russian authority, Sidney Harcave in his *Russia*, p. 253.

And just so Dr. Poll will know that my use of the word "serf" was appropriate even though these peasants had been technically liberated I refer him to Webster who says a serf "is any person who is oppressed."

Dr. Poll also objects to "*identification of Bakunin's anarchism and the Russian Populist movement with Marxism.*" (p. 5 of his critique.) Is Dr. Poll trying to say Michail Bakunin was not a disciple of Marx? What will he do with this statement by Bakunin:

> "You ask whether I am still your friend. . . . Yes, more than ever, my dear Marx, for I understand better than ever how right you were to walk along the broad broad road of the economic revolution, to invite us all to follow you. . . . I am now doing what you began to do more than twenty years ago. . . . My fatherland is now the International, whose chief founder you have been. You see, then, dear friend, that I am your pupil—and I am proud to be this. I think I have said enough to make my personal position and feelings clear to you." (Otto Ruhle, *Karl Marx*, New Home Library, New York, 1929, p. 280)

Bakunin disagreed with Marx on setting up a Communist dictatorship but he so admired the basic concepts of Marx that he translated *Capital* and other Marxist writings into Russian where they had their influence on the Populist movement in Russia.

CRITICISM OR DISTORTION?

No author should object to an honest criticism of his work, but what of a distortion?

On page 6 of his critique Dr. Poll tries to make the reader believe that I over-simplified the significance of U. S. recognition of the USSR in 1933 by giving this single act almost exclusive credit for saving Stalin from being overthrown.

If the reader will turn to page 124 of *The Naked Communist* and read through to page 126 he no doubt will wonder why Dr. Poll can't understand ordinary English. I stated:

"Future circumstances (plural) did offer Stalin a solution to his crisis." Then I began discussing some of these circumstances:

"The *first* thing that happened was Hitler's rise to power in January, 1933. . . . The *second* factor which *helped* Stalin was the recognition of his Communist regime by the great leader of world capitalism—the United States. This last factor was a singular development."

I then discussed how recognition of the USSR came about and then go on to discuss a number of subsequent developments which boosted Stalin's political stock in Russia.

Specifically, where is the historical inaccuracy? Dr. Poll doesn't say, but he tries further to prejudice the reader with the amazing statement that anyone reading *The Naked Communist* must make a "distinction between Skousen's devil theory of history and objective analysis of the multiple causes of important historical developments."

What devil theory? Furthermore, I had discussed multiple causes. Later (p. 7) he accuses me of using the "scapegoat theory" of history. So long as he is going to resort to smear terms he might at least be consistent and stick with one theory or the other.

WAS WORLD WAR II FOMENTED BY THE RUSSIAN LEADERS?

Dr. Poll takes strong exception to my statement that "World War II was fomented and used by the Russian leaders" as part of their strategy of Communist expansion. For a professor of history

and political science to be so completely unacquainted with such basic facts is astonishing.

The following statement from Dr. Stefen Possony of Georgetown University may be helpful to Dr. Poll:

> "They (the Communist leaders) always considered that war would make possible the spreading of bolshevism." (*Century of Conflict*, p. 244)

> "Stalin attempted to apply the strategy of 'let-the-other-fellow-do-the work' during World War II. By concluding a nonaggression pact with Germany (August 1939), Stalin induced Hitler to go to war against Britain, France and Poland. . . . By means of another nonaggression pact, Stalin later encouraged the Japanese to fight the western powers." (p. 243)

> "The pact of August 1939 between nazism and bolshevism was the most far-reaching decision made by Stalin during World War II. This pact was Stalin's, and not Hitler's, brain-child. Without Stalin's promise not to attack Germany in the rear, Hitler hardly would have dared launch into the adventure of World War II. Whatever Stalin's true motives may have been, his behavior contributed nothing to the maintenance of peace and everything to make war inevitable. *Without war, sovietism could not spread, and the Soviet Union could not grow.*" (p. 248)

All of the above theses are carefully documented by Dr. Possony and are identical with my presentation in *The Naked Communist*.

I have told Dr. Poll on a number of occasions that he is not adequately informed on the Communist conspiracy. This serious error in his critique of *The Naked Communist* demonstrates his need for further study.

CRITICISM OUT OF CONTEXT

For a person who is always urging scholarly objectivity I must point out one of Dr. Poll's many violations of his own rules on page 6 of his critique where he quotes the following statement out of context from *The Naked Communist*: "Anyone familiar with the Communist Constitution of Russia will recognize in the United Nations Charter a similar format." By leaving out the next sentence he

prevents the reader from learning what that format is. In the next sentence of *The Naked Communist* I pointed out that the technique used in both documents is to begin with a "fervent declaration of democratic principles which are sound and desirable; this is then followed by a constitutional restriction or procedural limitation which completely nullifies the principles just announced." I then give several specific examples of this in both documents. I first point out that the Russian constitution provides for universal suffrage and then makes it meaningless by allowing only one party to submit candidates. It promises freedom of the press and then makes it meaningless by providing censorship to make sure that everything is "in the interest of the workers." I point out that in the same manner, the UN Charter promises the "sovereign equality of all its members" and then makes it meaningless by setting up certain monolithic powers in the Security Council where five big nations become superior to all the other member nations. It provides for a General Assembly where each member is given one vote and then makes it meaningless insofar as problems of war are concerned by stripping the General Assembly of any legislative power to deal with war and delegating that authority exclusively to the Security Council.

I think an unbiased reader will agree that this format of making promises and then nullifying them is characteristic of both the UN Charter and the Russian Constitution. Apparently Dr. Poll disagrees and justifies his conclusion with an incredible statement. He says these nullification clauses in the UN structure are comparable to the "checks and balances" in our own U. S. Constitution! It seems to me that even an elementary course in political science should clearly demonstrate to Dr. Poll the distinction between the checks and balances in our own Constitution as compared with the undemocratic depository of monolithic powers in the Security Council where collectively or by the action of a single nation's veto this body can paralyze the wishes of all other members and do it without any opportunity for recourse or appeal. Surely this has nothing in common with the U. S. Constitution.

DR. POLL ON THE LOSS OF CHINA

Dr. Poll takes up his favorite China theme on page 6 of his critique. For some inexplicable reason he wants to rationalize that needless tragedy in terms of what he describes as *"circumstances beyond control, dilemmas, or even honest errors in judgment."* (p. 6) I will accept the fact that some honest errors in judgment were part of the picture but not *"circumstances beyond our control."*

The tragedy of the China debacle was the fact that we *were* in control. Dr. Poll seems to agree with certain people he doesn't name who hold that the loss of China could *not* have been prevented "by anything less than a military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest. . . ." This preposterous thesis is contradicted by every Congressional investigation which was ever conducted on the loss of China. I particularly recommend that Dr. Poll read the Congressional hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations. If he wants to get the picture in briefer form I recommend he read *Wedemeyer Reports*, chapters 20-25. (Holt & Company, New York, 1958)

The plain facts are that the Nationalist government was perfectly capable of holding China so long as it received American aid. In 1946 General Wedemeyer declared: "The Nationalist government has the capacity to defeat, to crush militarily, the Communist forces right now. Most of the equipment of the Nationalist Government forces is American. If we do not continue to sell them ammunition to maintain or implement that equipment, they will be very greatly crippled in their military campaigns." (*Wedemeyer Reports*, p. 380) When General Marshall imposed an embargo on Chiang Kai-shek in 1946-47 the eventual Communist victory became inevitable. When General Wedemeyer sent his report to Washington and outlined how to save China the report was buried and he was muzzled. In sorrow, he later wrote:

> "Perhaps I made a grave mistake and was derelict in duty to my country when I returned to military duties following the suppression of my report on China and Korea. Maybe if I had resigned and spoken my

mind I might have brought the truth home to the American people and saved China from the Communist conquest. . . ." (*Wedemeyer Reports*, p. 402)

Obviously General Wedemeyer would never make such a statement if circumstances had been beyond our control.

Now what about Dr. Poll's contention that if we had followed any different course to save China it would have involved our country in *"military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest."* (p. 6) I wonder if it will come as a great surprise to Dr. Poll to learn that General Wedemeyer recommended *against* U. S. military intervention? General Wedemeyer, our World War II commander in the China theater, knew that China could be saved without U. S. military involvement. In fact, to make this point vigorously clear he said:

> "Moreover, to avoid any possibility of being involved in the internal affairs of China, it would appear sound to *remove all U. S. military forces from China proper.*" (Wedemeyer Reports, p. 457)

WHAT ABOUT CUBA?

Dr. Poll doesn't like my criticism of Washington officials who master-minded the policy which resulted in the tragic loss of Cuba to Communism. In his anxiety to discredit my presentation of the Cuban situation he implies that I rest my case on "treason" with *"Batista being described in very apologetic terms."* Anyone who has actually read this chapter on Cuba in *The Naked Communist* will probably wonder what Dr. Poll is talking about. Here is the way I describe Batista:

> "Politically, Batista's administration was typical of Cuba's past. The Batista regime indulged itself in certain quantities of graft; when there were armed insurrections, Batista met violence with violence; when there were minority uprisings he suspended civil rights and established full military control. Nevertheless he insisted that once conditions were stabilized, he would submit himself to the people in a popular election and would be willing to stand by the results just as he had done in 1944.

> His opponents, particularly Fidel Castro, jeered at such promises and accused Batista of being opposed to constitutional government. The record shows that several times when Batista tried to slacken the reigns of control there were immediate outbursts of violence and he would therefore tighten them again." (pp. 244-5)

Then I point out that Batista did offer to submit to a popular election and scheduled one for June 1, 1958, but it was prevented by Castro who said candidates for the elections must withdraw or suffer "ten years imprisonment to the death sentence." Former U. S. ambassador to Cuba, Arthur Gardner, strongly recommended that we support Batista in demanding that the revolution be suspended and a popular election held. Nothing ever came of it.

Now if Dr. Poll isn't going to accept this as an accurate and objective presentation of what happened, I challenge him to produce evidence of its inaccuracy.

I fear Dr. Poll reflects outright prejudice when he closes his critique on the Cuba chapter by saying: "The fact that the United States can crush Castro by force if it becomes in our vital interest to do so, *argues against panicking* while we are trying to help his own follies to destroy him and the Communist beachhead in Latin America." (p. 6) What kind of innuendo is this? This statement could only imply that somewhere in *The Naked Communist* there must be some hair-brained plan of action against Cuba which reflects "panicking." Since absolutely no plan of action for the present Cuban problem is even suggested in this book I sincerely wonder how Dr. Poll would justify this kind of unethical implication.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT COMMUNISM?

In his critique, Dr. Poll is antagonistic toward any of the economic or political sanctions recommended by Thomas Jefferson or Woodrow Wilson. Yet these are precisely what we are using in Cuba to help reverse the trend of Communist conquest. Dr. Poll drums on the wornout theme of don't disturb the Communists, they may change.

In view of this it would be expected that Dr. Poll would resist any and all of the suggestions for massive peaceful pressures which I make in *The Naked Communist,* because they are based on the realistic acceptance of Khrushchev's boast that the Communists have *not* changed in their resolution to conquer the world.

Because Dr. Poll apparently has not been following the reports of Congressional committees investigating Communism, he did not recognize many of the facets of the Communist Party Line which I listed. He pointed out particular items as *"incredible"* which only further demonstrated his need to learn his subject better. He assumed that since my list did not correspond precisely with that of J. Edgar Hoover that mine was deficient. Had he known Communist strategy better he would have recognized that J. Edgar Hoover was speaking in generalities whereas I was dealing in specifics. And because Dr. Poll appears unfamiliar with the specific strategy techniques which the Communist Party is presently using I would expect him to see little merit in many of the suggestions which I made to combat this strategy.

HOW WOULD DR. POLL FIGHT COMMUNISM?

When Dr. Poll gave his speech at the University of Utah, February 24, 1960, he revealed a position of soft, negative neutralism toward Communism. He said he wanted just enough *"will to resist among free peoples as may in time transform an expedient 'peaceful co-existence' into a durable modus vivendi."* In other words, maintain the *status quo,* perhaps the Communists will change.

How will he achieve this?

He speaks of the *"reasonableness"* of crossing our fingers and exploring "disarmament possibilities with the Kremlin. . . ."

He speaks of the *"reasonableness"* of facing *"the prospect of contact with Peking,"* which is just another way of suggesting that we recognize Red China.

He speaks of the *"reasonableness"* of improving the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain rather than putting economic and political pressures on them. Here is the way he describes it: *"Since*

amelioration of the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain is more likely to result from economic growth and the relaxation of international tension than from external deliverance, a policy of reasonableness rather than belligerence may, in fact, be morally as well as politically sound."

Here Dr. Poll is begging for the *"reasonableness"* of building a stronger Communist society as the means of stopping Communist aggression! Does he think this would have worked with Nazi Germany? Did this kind of reasonableness work when we sold oil and scrap iron to Japan just prior to World War II?

And how does he propose to *"ameliorate"* the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain? Is it his proposal that the U. S. promote economic growth behind the Iron Curtain? And does he want to reduce *"international tensions"* by further U. S. appeasement? If not, how else does he propose to reduce these Communist-made tensions? He is talking as though Communism will die by feeding it to death, appeasing it to death and accommodating it to death. Is not this identical with the Roosevelt-Hopkins-Acheson theory of dealing with Stalin which undoubtedly will be remembered as one of the most catastrophic miscalculations in diplomatic history?

Dr. Poll is alarmed when any American suggests that we use Jefferson's program of breaking off diplomatic relations with nations which treat us *"atrociously,"* or Woodrow Wilson's concept of political and economic sanctions against war-making nations. (See *The Naked Communist*, pp. 270-277)

Almost as though he were completely oblivious of the unrest among the satellites and Khrushchev's admissions of food shortages and other economic failures, Dr. Poll critically opines: *"But there are still among us those who hold that the Communist bloc is a hollow shell which will collapse under sustained and increasing pressure. For them defense is defeatist. Liberation is the goal, and political isolation, economic warfare and subversion are the methods."*

Well, to Dr. Poll, apparently *"liberation"* is not the goal. For him the Soviet violation of every important treaty, the vast program

of slave labor camps, the admitted execution of millions of Chinese, the illegal conquest of free Hungary, the world-wide network of Communist subversion—all this must somehow be overlooked. Instead, he suggests that we *"accommodate"* ourselves to the realities of the situation and work for the day when the free nations can lie down with the Communists like lambs with the lions. Of his proposed marriage between freedom and slavery he casually comments: *"With no more good means than is required for imperfect husband and imperfect wife to live together in reasonable accord, Americans can accommodate themselves to a world in which millennial peace must await the millennium."*

Dr. Poll's proposals are exactly what Khrushchev is asking for because the Communist leader knows that in such a relationship his machinery for subversion is most likely to succeed. Said Khrushchev:

> "Peaceful coexistence helps to develop the forces of progress, the forces struggling for Socialism, and in capitalist countries it *facilitates the activities of communist parties* and other progressive organizations of the working class." (Italics added. *Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1961, p. 38)

If Dr. Poll knows how we could win the cold war in an atmosphere of co-existence then he will prove himself more clever than the combined efforts of four American presidents who have thus far explored this possibility. All they got for their trouble was the loss of 750,000,000 allies and the reduction of American prestige to its lowest level in our lifetime.

Dr. Poll's Claim to "Responsible Conservatism"

In his critique of *The Naked Communist* Dr. Poll disclaims any sympathy for left-wing philosophies or policies. He then footnotes his disclaimer with this interesting statement concerning himself: "I have been a delegate to the Utah State Republican Party Conventions in 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1960, and I am convinced that the

need for a *responsible* conservatism was never greater in America." (Italics his, see p. 11 of his critique.) What kind of "responsible conservatism" is Dr. Poll attributing to himself?

Recently when I read Dr. Poll's speech which he gave at the Great Issues Forum, University of Utah, 1960, I was struck by the singular similarity between the ideas of Dr. Poll and some of those advocated by his famous contemporary at Harvard, Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Of course, Dr. Schlesinger has never posed as a "responsible conservative." In fact it was he who said:

> "There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals." (*The Future of* Socialism, *Partisan Review*, May-June, 1947, reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, September 26, 1961, Volume 107, p. 20122-5)

In this same article he said:

> "If socialism (i.e. the ownership by the state of all significant means of production) is to preserve democracy, it must be brought about step by step. . . ."

He then goes on to describe how "step by step" socialism can save the world from Communism. His idea is that all capitalist nations must be induced to coexist with the Communist bloc but maintain sufficient strength to contain the Soviet Empire and prevent further military expansion. Under these circumstances he thinks two things will be accomplished: the free world will gradually go socialist and the socialist Soviet bloc will gradually lose its appetite for world conquest. He thinks we might eventually end up in a centrally controlled socialist society which will plan peace and prosperity for the whole world.

Except for military containment, Dr. Schlesinger wants us to avoid any action which might be interpreted as hostile or provocative. He wants to get along with the Communists and hope that they will change. Now note the similarities between the following statements of Dr. Poll and Dr. Schlesinger:

CO-EXISTENCE

Dr. Poll

Imagination, money, reasonableness, science, patience—these applied in a spirit of enlightened self-interest can bring such strength to the will to resist among free peoples as may in time transform an expedient "peaceful coexistence" into a durable *modus vivendi*. . . .

With no more good sense than is required for imperfect husband and imperfect wife to live together in reasonable accord, Americans can accommodate themselves to a world in which millennial peace must await the millennium.

Dr. Schlesinger

The United States must maintain a precarious balance between a complete readiness to repel Soviet aggression beyond a certain limit and a complete determination to demonstrate within this limit no aggressive U.S. intentions toward the USSR. It must commit itself economically, politically, and militarily, to the maintenance of this balance over a long period.

USE OF APPEASEMENT — THE COMMUNISTS MAY CHANGE

Since amelioration of the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain is more likely to result from economic growth and the relaxation of international tensions than from external deliverance, a policy of reasonableness rather than belligerence may, in fact, be morally as well as politically sound.

Given sufficient time, the Soviet internal tempo will slow down. The ruling class will become less risk-minded, more security-minded. Greater vested interests will develop in the existing order; Russia itself will begin to fear the revolutionary tendencies which modern war trails in its wake.

NO HOPE OF FREEDOM FOR THE SATELLITES

Surely it is not "right thinking" to expect that the Soviets will submit to the division of their empire or the subversion of their system without a fight. One can feel profound sympathy for the oppressed in satellite Europe and South Africa and Franco's Spain and still regard their immediate deliverance as an infeasible goal for American foreign policy.

At the same time, the United States must not succumb to demands for an anti-Soviet crusade nor permit reactionaries in the buffer states to precipitate conflicts in defense of their own obsolete prerogatives. (Note that the yearnings for freedom in the satellites are counted as "obsolete prerogatives" by Dr. Schlesinger—WCS)

Dr. Schlesinger claimed that as of 1947 these basic ideas had been secretly adopted as official policy in the State Department and were specifically designed to guide humanity toward the day when the whole world would be socialized. This may help explain the postwar policy of sponsoring left-wing governments and even Communist coalitions in many parts of the world. Here is the way Dr. Schlesinger describes it:

"Though the secret has been kept pretty much from the readers of the liberal press, the State Department has been proceeding for some time somewhat along these lines. Both Byrnes and Marshall have perceived the essential need—to be firm without being rancorous, to check Soviet expansion without making unlimited commitments to an anti-Soviet crusade, to invoke power to counter power without engaging in senseless intimidation, to encourage the *growth of the democratic left*. The performance has often fallen below the conception; but the direction has been correct. Men like Ben Cohen, Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen have tried to work out details and whip up support for this admittedly risky program." (*Congressional Record*, Volume 107, p. 20125)

Throughout his speech, Dr. Poll admits occasional failures in our policies since World War II but generally defends these policies. The loss of 10 countries and 750,000,000 allies to Communism doesn't seem to bother him. He speaks of "the leadership which our country has creditably borne since the last great war." Looking toward the future he says: "No more imagination will be required than launched the Berlin airlift or devised the Uniting for Peace Resolutions for the United Nations. No greater share of our national income will be needed than brought Marshall Plan recovery to Western Europe and today supports 'ugly Americans' in many blighted regions of the earth. No more reasonableness is demanded than that which buried hatred of Japan and Germany in half a decade and now, with fingers crossed, explores disarmament possibilities with the Kremlin and even faces the prospect of contact with Peking."

This will help the reader gain some idea of what Dr. Poll considers "responsible conservatism."

Now we come to Dr. Poll's attitude toward the problem of creeping socialism.

DR. POLL AND CREEPING SOCIALISM

Just as with Dr. Schlesinger, Dr. Poll can see no threat of a Communist takeover just because a country moves over toward socialism.

On page 12 of his critique, Dr. Poll challenges me to "name a single nation in human history which has traversed the Ambush Trail from democratic 'welfare statism' to Communism." He stated his position even more clearly in a letter to me: "I hold that there is not a single Communist country in the world today that became Communist by the gradual extension of governmental authority in welfare state and socialistic directions."

I believe that here again Dr. Poll is reflecting an opinion which a scholar of his capacity would not be expressing if he had taken time to probe the problem more thoroughly.

In the spirit of wanting to be helpful I suggest that he start out by reading *The Socialist Tragedy*, by Ivor Thomas, (The MacMillan Company, New York, 1951). Mr. Thomas, as a member of British Parliament, helped put the Socialists in power in England following World War II and served as one of its important officers. He is thoroughly familiar with socialist theory and socialist history. Chapter 4 of this book is a direct answer to Dr. Poll's challenge.

First of all, Mr. Thomas points out that Marx originally intended that the Socialist Party would be the main working-class political force and the Communists would merely be the elite leadership to spearhead the Socialists into action. The Communists were not supposed to be a separate party. Marx made this clear in the *Manifesto*: "The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. . . ." In practice, however, they did finally become a separate party because of the quarrel over methods and leadership. However, both Socialists and Communists continued

to use the Manifesto as the inspiration for their policies. In fact, the centennial edition of the *Manifesto* in 1948 was not put out by the Communists at all but was published by the socialist Labour Party of Great Britain with a glowing tribute to Marx by Harold J. Laski. Mr. Thomas points out that the Socialists often fight the Communists but only over the methods and means, not the objectives. At their root base they both have the same common denominator of Marxist ideology. Therefore Mr. Thomas says: ". . . it will be well to begin by establishing that, although socialism may differ from communism in its methods and in its tempo, the final state of society will be the same." (p. 14)

He then documents this proposition which shouldn't be necessary for anyone who knows the history of the Social Democrats on the continent of Europe or of the Fabians in England.

Then Mr. Thomas says: "Let us test the claim that socialism can be an effective barrier to communism."

> "Where there has been a decisive test, the history of Europe provides no confirmation of the view that socialism can be an effective barrier to communism. *On the contrary, the experience of many countries is that socialism has prepared the way for communism.* Socialists have first undermined the effective barriers to communism; and when the communists have struck at them, the socialists have offered no effective resistance and in some cases have joined hands with the communism." (p. 41)

Now he recites the history of each country where the socialists came into power and then fell victims to Communist pressures. Only in those countries where other forces intervened were they saved. In the interest of brevity I will merely quote the conclusions of Mr. Thomas as he treats each nation.

Russia:

> "The two Russian revolutions of 1917 are the classic example of the impossibility of maintaining a social democratic position against determined communist pressure. . . ." (p. 41)
>
> ". . . the communists could not have come to power if the social democrats had not first paved the way." (p. 47)

Poland:

"But the tragedy of the Polish Socialist party will not be understood unless it is realized that in its fight with Soviet communism it was ideologically compromised. Its partial acceptance of communist ideology constantly imposed upon it dilemmas which hindered the effectiveness of its action, and led first to common action with, and eventually to absorption by, the Communist party; and the Communist party in its conquest of the Polish state found it advantageous to have the facade of an alliance with the socialists." (p. 50)

Hungary:

"There was the same fatal alliance of the socialists with the communists, the same expulsion or suppression of all democratic elements, and the same acquiescence, with notable exceptions, of the former social democrats in a totalitarian state." (p. 56)

Czechoslovakia:

"But the history of Czechoslovakia since 1945 shows that he who sups at the cabinet table with the Communists needs a long spoon; that the Communist seizure of power was aided and abetted by the leaders of the Social Democrats; and that the Communists might not have been able to seize power if they had not first shared it with the Social Democrats." (p. 66)

Italy and France:

"In Italy and France communists have not been able to seize power, but the history of these two countries since the first world war shows no less convincingly that socialism cannot be an effective barrier to communism; they show rather that socialism opens the way to communism." (p. 66)

Now let us hear the end of the matter from the official statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties issued in November, 1960, from Moscow:

"The vital interests of the working-class movement *demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action*. . . . Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of national independence, for peace among nations, and *also in the struggle to win power and build socialism*, the Communist Parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist Parties. (*Com-*

munist and Workers' Parties' Manifesto adopted November - December, 1960, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 92)

And so, Dr. Poll, I have not only shown you "a single" nation which became Communist through experimenting with Socialism, but I have shown you four. In addition I call to your attention this forthright statement by the Communists themselves that Socialists are considered their allies and tools for the "struggle to win power and build socialism," all of which verifies the conviction of these realistic Red strategists that socialism does indeed open the way for a potential conquest by the Communist leadership.

WHAT OTHERS HAVE SAID ABOUT THE NAKED COMMUNIST

In closing it might be mentioned that *The Naked Communist* has been reviewed a great many times by educators, political scientists, newspapers, magazines, news analysts, military specialists on Communism, former FBI officials, authors of texts on Communism and the faculty of the War College in Washington, D.C. All of these reviews have been favorable except two. One was a review by a person whom I would consider to be from the so-called extreme Right who said I had been too restrained. The other negative review was by Dr. Poll.

Nevertheless, I attribute to Dr. Poll a sincerity of purpose but I am hopeful that someday he will take the time to really learn the ramifications of the Communist conspiracy not only for his own sake but, more important, for the sake of his students.

Examples of reviewers who had a completely different reaction than Dr. Poll to *The Naked Communist* include the following:

Stanley J. Tracy, Former Assistant Director of the FBI and presently the Vice President of the Foundation for American Research: "This is the most powerful book on the subject of Communism I have ever read. It is the logical sequel of J. Edgar Hoover's book, 'Masters of Deceit.' It is the perfect book for college professors to teach from, and it belongs on the library shelves of every university and public library in the country."

Florida State Department of Education: "Each high school senior should read this book to see the contrast between the Communist dogma and the moral and spiritual values which have always been, and remain today, the strength of our nation. Any teacher could utilize the content of this book in presenting the evils of Communism." (*Florida School Bulletin*, June, 1959, p. 37)

Educational News Service, Nov. issue, 1959, p. 19. "To those who do not have in their home libraries the numerous reports of the Congressional and State Investigating Committees this book will bring the essence of them to you in a volume that has an excellent topical index and extensive bibliography."

Dr. George Benson, President of Harding College: "The most valuable book on Communism since publication of Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*. . . . Its great value lies in the fact that (1) it was written specifically for high school seniors and is extraordinarily concise and understandable; (2) it deals with the whole subject of Communism; (3) its author . . . knows that for America to hold back the Communist menace her people must first understand the constitutional requirements needed to perpetuate our American freedom system. . . . "

George E. Sokolsky, Washington Post, Washington, D. C.: "I recommend this book as rewarding to those who really wish to know what they are talking about."

Rosalie Gordon, America's Future: "This is truly a remarkable book. . . . We can think of no greater service Americans could perform for themselves, their children and their country than to see that at least one copy of this book is in their local high school library."

Paul Harvey, ABC News Analyst: "I have never given any volume such an unqualified endorsement."

Rodney Gilbert, author of Competitive Co-existence—The New Soviet Challenge: "Anyone who thinks that the Communists can be brought to abandon their program of world conquest . . . should read this book. . . . This book is, in short, an encyclopedic treatment of Communism in all its manifestations, theoretical and applied."

Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune: "It is packed with the most revealing research . . . the chapter 'What Do Defenders of Communism Say' is itself more than the price of admission."

Brig. General H. L. Ostler: "I cannot praise this book too highly. It is something that has been needed in this country and the free world for a long time because it covers Communism in its entirety."

Adolphe Menjou, Chairman, The American Academy of Public Affairs: "I have already read 'The Naked Communist,' and consider it one of the finest books on the subject that I have so far seen."

Captain Don W. Dillman, Military Intelligence, in the Intelligence Digest: "Here is a whole library on Communism condensed into a single volume. . . . *After reading the opening chapters a person feels opposed to Communism*—not because he hates it, but because he understands it."

Sixth U. S. Army Intelligence Newsletter: "The author asks questions and provides an impressive and lucid compilation of answers which enables the reader to understand why intelligent and well educated Americans embraced the Communist ideology. One chapter is entitled, 'The Future Task' and answers *the question of what can be done to stop Communism.*"

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be obtained by writing to the Ensign Publishing Co. at P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City, Utah. The price, postpaid, is thirty-five cents per copy.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES G[illegible]

Memora[illegible]

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6-22-62

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: W. CLEON SKOUSEN

The Director is in receipt of a letter dated 6-12-62, from the above captioned. Skousen, as you know, is a former Bureau Agent who has been lecturing extensively on the subject of communism. He is the author of a book entitled "The Naked Communist."

In his letter Skousen makes reference to a controversy which he is currently having with a Dr. Richard Poll. Poll, sometime past, wrote a criticism of "The Naked Communist" entitled "This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound." For criticism Poll attacks Skousen's book as inaccurate, inadequate and extremely partisan. Skousen has now prepared an answer to Dr. Poll in which he (Skousen) attempts to prove that Poll is wrong in his criticisms. Skousen encloses with his letter a copy of his reply to Poll as well as a mimeographed sheet dated 6-2-62, concerning the controversy.

94-47468 reflects that the Bureau has previously been aware of Dr. Poll's criticism of Skousen. Poll is a history professor at Brigham Young University. Apparently Poll and Skousen have both lectured about communism but disagree on a number of points. Salt Lake City Office has advised that Poll is considered opposed to communism but is also opposed to Skousen's approach. The controversy between Poll and Skousen has been under way for quite sometime. A review of Skousen's answer to Poll's criticism reflects that the FBI is mentioned. On page 2 Skousen indicated that he did his research on the theory and early history of communism while he was in the FBI from 1935 to 1951; on page 15 he makes passing mention of the Director in relation to the Communist Party line; and on page 24 he comments that "The Naked Communist" has been favorably reviewed by "former FBI officials." In this connection he quotes briefly from Stanley J. Tracy, former Assistant Director of the FBI and identified as Vice President of the Foundation for American Research.

Skousen, as you know, entered on duty with the Bureau on 10-24-35 as a Messenger, was appointed an Agent on 6-17-40 and resigned 10-5-51, services satisfactory. He has been identified as associated with the extreme right-wing element in the field of anticommunism.

REC-37 94-47460-59

Enclosure 6-25-62

EX 100

10 JUN 27 1962

FCS:ear
(5)

JUL 3 1962

CRIME RESEARCH

It is felt we should be most circumspect in our answer merely acknowledging receipt of this material. This will prevent the Director from becoming involved in any way in the controversy between Skousen and Dr. Poll.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Skousen.

REC-8 94-47468-60

September 12, 1962

Mr. Russ Bullock
693 Santa Coleta Court
Sunnyvale, California

Dear Mr. Bullock:

Your letter postmarked September 4th has been received.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way.

The FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In view of the foregoing, I am unable to comment in the manner you requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 4
SEP 12 1962
COMM-FBI

RMW:mlk
(3)

See Note next page.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

SEP 19 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Russ Bullock

NOTE: Neither Correspondent nor "Christians Confront Communism" identifiable in Bufiles. Geren is a career Foreign Service Officer. He received recess appointment as Deputy Director of the Peace Corps. Information indicates Geren took a tour in 1959 including 30 days in Russia. He was accompanied by one Gerome Dwight Davis, a concealed communist in 1936 and as late as 1944. Geren indicated membership in the American Council Institute of Public Relations. Carl Prussian is former security informant of the San Francisco Division who was discontinued in 1958 after he disclosed his informant's status to the newspapers.

TRUE COPY

September 2, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir,

During this past week, we have had a study course on communism at our church. The basic book used was "Christians Confront Communism" by Paul Geren. USSR US

The layman instructor, Bill Hunt, was using "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen for much of his teaching. I took exception to several things that came out of Skousen's book.

I would appreciate any background material you could send me concerning Skousen, as I am interested in finding out if his writings are in the best interest of fighting communism.

Since I am writing, I'd like any information available on a Carl Prussian concerning anti-communism.

Russ Bullock
693 Santa Coleta Ct
Sunnyvale, Calif

P. S. I am a member of Fairoaks Park Southern Baptist Church in Sunnyvale.

RB

REC- 8 94-77468-61

9 SEP 18 1962

EX-116

8-RMW

1-TC left

September 2, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir,

During this past week, we have had a study course on communism at our church. The basic book used was "Christians Confront Communism" by Paul Deren.

The layman instructor, Bill Hunt, was using "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen for much of his teaching. I took exception to several things that came out of Skousen's book.

I would appreciate any background material you could send me concerning Skousen, as I am interested in finding out if his writings are in the best interest of fighting communism.

Since I am writing, I'd like any information available on a Carl Prussian concerning anti-communism.

Russ Burbank
693 La Coleta Ct
Sunnyvale, Calif

P.S. I am a member of Fairoaks Park Southern Baptist Church in Sunnyvale.

RB

TRUE COPY

2912 - B - Pepper Tree Lane.
Costa Mesa, Calif.
Sept. 7, 1962.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,

Dear Sir,

Will you help to clear my thinking regarding Dr. Schwartz of the Christian Anti-Communism School and the John Birch Society?- Also ~~Leon~~ Skouson, Cleon

Having read some articles regarding the John Birch Society my conclusion is that their aims are American, but some members are "extremists."

I have listened to Dr. Schwartz' School of communism and also last week heard Dr. Schwartz on "Meet The Press." I feel he is presenting a cause, not personalities.

I have read Mr. Skouson's look "The Naked Communist" and have been greatly enlightened. Dr Fifield of a Los Angeles church brought these people to our attention and we truly thank him. Calif

As "Spiritual Life Secretary" I have brought some of Mr Skouson's and Dr. Schwartz' information to our ladies through our worship service. Our ministers' wife and one member have brought me up sharply because of this. They said that Mr. Skouson is not all he seems to be - has no right to give suggestions that will help different groups to spread the proper information-- that Mr. Schwartz has been proved out of line. I cannot understand the attitude of our church officials regarding extremists. Many of our ladies feel as I do, but I am greatly disturbed regarding the lack of knowledge of these vital issues.

I hope you will give me reason to continue to speak gently, firmly and with love and Christian conviction. Now I feel quite out of step.

Sincerely and respectfully

/s/ (Mrs F. E) Dorothy E. Groody

1-true copy 9-12-62 jc

9-12-62 KVA: jc

396

57 SEP 19 1962

REC- 60 94-47462-61

EX-108

XEROX SEP 13 1962

NOT RECORDED 191 SEP 13 1962

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-104501-1752

November 29, 1962

1 REC-41 44-47468-62

Mrs. John Barraclough
1707 Hervey Street
Boise, Idaho

EX-114

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
NOV 29 4 57 PM '62

Dear Mrs. Barraclough:

Your letter postmarked November 24, 1962, has been received, and the thought prompting your communication is appreciated.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Therefore, I am sure you understand why I am unable to comment in the manner you suggested concerning Mr. Garfield and the United Nations. With respect to Mr. W. Cleon Skousen, however, he entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Since resigning from this Bureau, Mr. Skousen's activities are strictly his own. Based upon my policy explained above, I am not in a position to offer any evaluation of him.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 5
NOV 29 1962
FBI-WASH. DC

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DTP:bsp (3)

FBI
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

54 DEC 4 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The day that Cleon Skousen was scheduled to speak in our fair city, my daughters Junior Hi History Teacher began asking the class whether or not theyliked the U N. Then he proceeded to malign Mr. Skouse, saying he had been fired from the F B I. I would like to disprove this accusation and I hope your files will enable me to do so. It was my understanding thathe left the FB I to accept a position at the Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

Another factor which has been quite disgusting--this teacher, Mr. Garfield, hasbeen making derogatory remarks about some of the students whose views were against the U N.

I hope to hear from you soon

Sincerely

Mrs. John Barraclough

Mrs. John Barraclough
1707 Vienna St
Boise, Idaho

REC-41 94-47468-62

12 NOV 30 1962

Recorded

INDEXED

FBI. REC. UNIT

December 8, 1962

REC-49 94-47468-63

EX 105

Honorable Spessard L. Holland
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I received your communication of November 28th, with enclosure, and it is a pleasure to furnish the information requested.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. I would like to point out that Mr. Skousen's activities, opinions and comments are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any manner.

I hope the above will be of assistance to you, and I am returning Mr. Melton's letter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

REC'D-READING ROOM FBI DEC 3 1 57 PM '62

MAILED 8
DEC 8 - 1962
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles indicate we have had cordial relations with Senator Holland who is on the Special Correspondents' List. Mr. Quimby Melton, Sr., Editor of the Griffin Daily News, Griffin, Georgia, is also on the Special Correspondents' List.

JH:rap (6)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Re: Quimby Melton, Sr., Publisher
Griffin Daily News
Griffin, Georgia

United States Senate

November 28, 1962

Respectfully referred to

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington 25, D. C.

for such consideration as the communication herewith submitted may warrant, and for a report thereon, in duplicate to accompany return of inclosure.

By direction of

Respectfully, Leonard L. Holland

SLH/f

REC-49 94-4-7468-63

EX-105

DEC 5 1962

8 NOV 30 1962

6

Holland-sd
Melton-sd

ach 12-3-62

FBI DEC

33 NOV 30 1962

/ ENCLOSURE

PERS. CORRESPONDENCE REC. UNIT

GRIFFIN DAILY NEWS
ESTABLISHED 1871
GRIFFIN, GEORGIA
QUIMBY MELTON, SR.
PUBLISHER

SENATOR S. L. HOLLAND

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1962
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Nov. 27,1962

Dear Spessard:-

I am not a "constituent" of yours.

But I am a friend and have the greatest confidence in you. So I turn to you for some information.

Last night a Cleo Skousen spoke here at a meeting sponsored by a new organization that calls itself "The Conservatives." He spoke on the dangers of Communism. During his speech he practically charged that our government is a satellite of Russia; that our officials are dupes of Krishchev; that we have entered a secret agreement with Russia over Cuba and all that.

He is a forceful speaker and knows how to rouse enthusiasm. He is skilled in taking some small fact, blowing it up out of all proportion, and presenting it as a fact. I am certain you know others like him.

The Conservatives played up the fact that he was a former FBI man -- a specialist on communism--and that his book "The Naked Communist" is a best seller. (I understand he was paid $500 for his visit here.) A charge was made for admission and the local sponsors probably came out with no loss.

Now Spessard I don't like anyone jumping on our government and making blanket charges that we are going to the dogs are communist dominated and such ridiculous charges.

Here is what I an asking you to do for me:

Please establish the fact that he was with the FBI; and in what capacity. Please find out why he left the FBI. Please find out if he has ever been associated with ultra-conservatives such as the Birch Society, even to the extent of being "fellow traveller."

My purpose in asking this information is that I am afraid a lot of our good people are being "brain washed". Some of the key persons in the new organization are so "conservative" that if I were inclined to say so, I might say they are Fascists.

ENCLOSURE

Any information that you will get for me will not be attributed to you -- but to the source.

94-47468-63

Thanks--and a Merry Christmas

Quimby

EX-120
REC-56

94-47468-64

January 4, 1963

Mrs. Shirley Patterson
Solvang, California

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

I have received your letter of December 30th, with enclosure, and appreciate the interest prompting you to write.

In response to your request, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left the Bureau are strictly his own, and I am sure you will understand why it is not possible for me to comment on these in any way whatsoever.

Enclosed is some literature I trust you will find to be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 5
JAN 4 1963
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (5)
1 (Listed next page)
1 - Los Angeles - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: (See next page)

JCF:mlw (4)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TELETYPE UNIT

6 0 JAN 15 1963

Mrs. Shirley Patterson

Enclosures (5)
Let's Fight Communism Sanely
You Versus Crime
Bulwarks of Liberty
An American's Challenge
Communism and the Knowledge to Combat It

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent, Mr. Paul D. Raymond, or the Midland School of Los Olivos, California.

TRUE COPY

Dec 30, 1962

Dear Mr Hoover,

This letter was written to the Editor of our small local weekly paper, Santa Ynez Valley News, several weeks ago.

I am deeply concerned over this article because I have always felt Mr Skousen to be an excellent authority on the Communist threat to our country, and as a member of our local Speakers' group, we were so pleased to have Mr Skousen here.

This writer, Mr Raymond is a teacher at Midland School, a private boys' school here in the Santa Ynez Valley.

Certainly this letter will undo some of the good that was done thru Mr Skousens' speech. This area seems to be quite "liberal" in thinking any way, due to the influence of the Santa Barbara News-Press (we are located 30 mi no. of Santa Barbara)

Can you please answer me in such a way that your word on Mr Skousen could be published. This could refer to his character, back ground, anything in favor of him. The reference to U. S. History texts is understandably out of your particular dep't.

Many thanks for any help you can give me.

Mrs Shirley Patterson
Solvang, Calif.

Return address per envelope:
S. Patterson
Solvang, Calif.

ack 1-4-63
mmk JCF/mcb

ITC 1-2-63 jld

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Ewel

Dec 30, 19

Dear Mr Hoover,

This letter was written to the Editor of our small local weekly paper, Santa Ynez Valley News, several weeks ago.

I am deeply concerned over this article because I have always felt Mr Stowers is an excellent authority on the Communist threat to our country, and as a member of our local Speakers' group, we were so pleased to have Mr Stowers here.

This writer, Mrs Raymond is a teacher at Midland School, a private boys' school here in the Santa Ynez valley.

nml ITC 1-2-63 Cd

ENCLOSURE

EX-120

REC 56 94-47469-64

6 JAN 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

Certainly this letter will undo some of the good that was done thru Mr Skousens' speech. This area seems to be quite "liberal" in thinking anyway. due to the influence of the Santa Barbara News-Press (we are located 30 mi no. of Santa Barbara)

Can you please answer me in such a way that your words on Mr. Skousens could be published. This could refer to his character, background, anything in favor of them. The reference to U.S. history texts is understandably out of your particular dept.

Many thanks for any help you can give me.

Mrs Shirley Patterson
Solvang, Calif.

mail

The Readers' Corner

Skousen Convincing, Dangerous; Views Need 'Considerable Airing'

Editor, Valley News:

W. Cleon Skousen seems to have become a center of controversy in our Valley. This is good because views such as he expresses require considerable airing. Usually a light breeze will blow their substance away, but, unfortunately, the lint keeps collecting again in a multitude of fuzzy minds.

I did not hear him when he spoke in the Valley on Dec. 5, but did the night before in Santa Barbara and have heard him several times on tapes and T.V. and have also read his book, **The Naked Communist,** and sundry other things he has written. In short, I have done my homework and have reached the conclusion that he is either a charlatan or a "nut," but, in either case, is definitely dangerous, in-so-far as he is able to convince others that what he says is true.

Two years ago one of my students asked to play a tape by Mr. Skousen on U.S. History as it is being taught in the American schools (there was no title on the tape). This tape was played in my living room before a group of students.

Mr. Skousen asserted that our U.S. History is being taught with a Communist slant, that the major text-books in this field are filled with Communist propaganda. Then he described this propaganda.

Among other things being taught, he said, is the idea that the Founding Fathers were aristocrats—rich men—who sat on their verandas sipping mint-juleps, while being waited on hand and foot by slaves. The major text-books, he said, also portray the Founding Fathers as men who wrote the Constitution to serve their own selfish needs.

The speech was long — he seems to be given to two hour addresses — but these will serve as examples.

Mr. Skousen is a very convincing speaker, and he might have swayed even my students. However, I belled the cat, so to speak; I had the half-dozen, most-used U.S. History texts right there in the living room. After each outrageous statement, I turned the tape recorder off and had my students examine what the text-books really said. In every case, what they actually said bore no relation to what Mr. Skousen said they said.

In his speech on Dec. 4 in Santa Barbara (I assume he made the same speech here) he utilized several quotations from works by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., to prove that the present Administration is being subjected to serious, internal Communist influences. His technique was subtle and convincing. Nowhere did he directly assert that Schlesinger is a Communist, instead, he used the quotations to prove that Schlesinger is a "social-democrat" or "Fabian Socialist." Elsewhere, he indicated that these are no different from Communists — about as fraudulent a notion as was ever conceived, even if Schlesinger could be placed in these categories, which he cannot.

Most glaring, however, was Skousen's failure to cite any sources for the quotations he was using to slander a great historian and public figure and to destroy peoples' faith in the loyalty of our Administration.

During the question and answer session after the speech, I asked for the sources of these quotations. I asked for book titles, dates of publication and page numbers. Instead of these, he cited five pages in the 1958 **Congressional Record.** Intelligent people will not need to be told that Skousen thereby indicated that he is probably unfamiliar with Schlesinger's works — nor will they need to be told that the quotations were torn from their context and told much more about the person who would use them in this form than about the man who originally said them.

One final word. At the conclusion of his address — by which time Mr. Skousen had "proved" pretty conclusively that America was sold out to the Communists — the master of ceremonies leapt to his feet and said, "Wasn't that great!! Wasn't that thrilling!!" And the audience cheered.

America will not be saved, however, by those who are able to cheer after hearing that their country has been sold out.

PAUL D. RAYMOND
Midland School
Los Olivos, California

94-47468-64
ENCLOSURE

March 22, 1963

AIRTEL

~~1 - Mr. Belmont~~
~~1 - Mr. Sullivan~~
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Mullins

To: SAC, Salt Lake City

From: Director, FBI (94-47468)

W. CLEON SKOUSEN
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

The 3/19/63 Congressional Record shows Senator Moss of Utah spoke concerning a booklet entitled "Has Cuba Been Abandoned to Communism?" which was authored by Skousen and which Moss indicates had been sent to him with the compliments of the Citizen's Information Committee of Salt Lake City. Moss further stated he suspected the Committee is a front for the John Birch Society.

Bureau has been unable to locate copy of this booklet and desires that you expeditiously forward copy by airtel for review by Bureau.

NOTE:

Information concerning booklet contained in memorandum N. P. Callahan to the Director 3/20/63 entitled "The Congressional Record." All logical Bureau facilities have been checked concerning this publication, and no references to it could be located. There is also no indication that outside sources which normally could provide publications of this nature have access to it. Nationalities Intelligence Section has been instructed to review booklet and prepare analysis of it.

RAM:djw
(7)
5

MAILED 3
MAR 22 1963
COMM-FBI

94-47468-65

REC-45

EX-116

54 MAR 27 1963

19 MAR 25 1963

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

F B I

Date: 3/27/63

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (94-47468)

FROM: SAC, SALT LAKE CITY (80-225)(C)

W. CLEON SKOUSEN
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

Rebuairtel 3/22/63.

In accordance with referenced Bureau airtel, one copy of a booklet entitled "Has CUBA been abandoned to Communism?" by W. CLEON SKOUSEN, is enclosed. Also enclosed is another booklet entitled "ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR....man behind the scene in Washington," also by SKOUSEN. This latter booklet is one of Mr. SKOUSEN's latest publications and the Bureau may desire it also for review. /W. Cleon SKOUSEN

The foregoing two booklets were furnished this office by Sergeant ROBERT JOHNSON, Salt Lake City, Utah, Police Department. He stated they are being sold in Salt Lake City at a price of twenty-five cents each.

BLAYLOCK

3 - Bureau (Enc-2) (REG. AM)
1 - Salt Lake City

DLL:mhe
(4)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Memo Warrall to Sullivan
4/1/63
Rm: djw

94-47468-66

4-11
10 APR 28 1963

REC-28

NAT. [illegible] SEC.

PERS. ETC. UNIT

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

67 APR 18 1963

FD-340a (4-7-61)

1 Booklet entitled "has CUBA been abandoned to Communism?"
1 Booklet entitled "ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR....man behind the Scene in Washington,
both by W. CLEON SKOUSEN.

BUREAU

SALT LAKE CITY

80-225

94-47468

(Title) W. CLEON SKOUSEN
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING (NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

(File No)

REGISTERED AIR MAIL

Disposition:

ENCLOSURE

91-4166-66

W. Cleon Skousen

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

. . . man behind the scene in Washington



©Copyright 1962, by W. Cleon Skousen

W. Cleon Skousen

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

. . . man behind the scene in Washington



The Ensign Publishing Co.
Salt Lake City, Utah

ANYTHING written by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is important for at least two reasons: *First*, he is considered one of the most influential advisors to President Kennedy on the White House staff, and *second*, he is a leader in the group of strategists who have controlled American foreign policy for over twenty years.

Before coming to the White House, Mr. Schlesinger was teaching history at Harvard University. He had attracted the attention of Harvard liberals early in his career and had been made a full professor of history in 1954 without ever having earned either a Master's degree or a Ph.D. degree. His title of "Dr." is honorary only and not from Harvard. His three honorary degrees have been from Muhlenberg College (1950), Bethany College (1956) and the University of New Brunswick (1960).

Mr. Schlesinger has been active in politics all of his adult life. He served as speech writer for Adlai Stevenson, was chairman of the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), and serves as a top official in the American Civil Liberties Union, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Committee on Africa and the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.

Dr. Schlesinger is recognized both by friends and opponents as a skillful strategist and brilliant writer. His writings may be roughly classified in two categories, those writings which deal in generalities and are designed for popular consumption, and then those writings which are aimed at the exclusive inner circle of which Mr. Schlesinger is a member. The mind of Arthur M.

Schlesinger can best be understood by studying his "inner circle" writings.

The Schlesinger Manifesto — 1947

One of the most complete exposures of Dr. Schlesinger's thinking is set forth in an article which he wrote for the "inner circle" in 1947. It appeared in the *Partisan Review* for May-June, 1947, and is referred to by Congressmen as the "Schlesinger Manifesto" because it sets forth the grand strategy of the men behind the scenes. This entire article was reprinted in the Congressional Record for September 26, 1961 (See Volume 107, pp. 20122-20125).

In this article Dr. Schlesinger boldly asks his colleagues: "Is Democratic Socialism possible?" With equal boldness he assures them that it is, not only for the United States but for the whole world.

But what is Democratic Socialism? What is Dr. Schlesinger advocating?

A standard reference book on this subject is the *Fabian Essays in Socialism* which was originally published in 1889 but was reprinted by Doubleday in 1961. The seven writers who prepared these essays state in the introduction that they "are all Social Democrats" (p. 6). They then describe some of their ultimate goals:

Diminishing and then eliminating private ownership of property, p. 16.
Government ownership or control of all land, pp. 82, 191, 194.
Government ownership or control of industry, p. 191.
Government control of labor, p. 191.
Government control of communications, p. 191.
Government ownership or control of transportation, p. 191.
Government ownership or control of the banks, p. 195.
Government ownership or control of insurance, p. 42.
Gaining economic control nationally and then expanding it internationally, pp. 170, 173.
Diminishing the significance of the family, pp. 183, 245.

Diminishing the significance of religion, p. 43.
Central government control over the whole educational system, p. 75.

Of course, all of this closely parallels the doctrines of Karl Marx but the Social Democrats point out that they expect to achieve their goals of a collectivized society by peaceful means. They will do it by "gradualism" or "piece-meal," as Dr. Schlesinger calls it, so the people will not be aroused to resistance through resentment.

The Social Democrats visualize several stages of transition. The one they are working for now is a "mixed society" or a combination of socialism and capitalism. The squeeze would then be gradually tightened on private enterprise until it is eliminated. This is described on page 196 of the *Fabian Essays in Socialism.*

Now let us take a look at the so-called Schlesinger Manifesto which reflects the thinking of this important "man behind the scenes" who sets out to answer the question "Is democratic socialism possible?"

Schlesinger on the Coming of Socialism

Although the sentiments of the people may be opposed to it, Dr. Schlesinger says Democratic Socialism is possible:

"Abstracting the question for a moment from current political actualities, one must answer that there is no inherent reason why democratic socialism should not be possible." (Paragraph 6 of Dr. Schlesinger's *Partisan Review* article.)

But how can it be brought about without arousing the people? Dr. Schlesinger believes the strategy of "gradualism" is the answer:

"If socialism (i.e. the ownership by the state of all significant means of production) is to preserve democracy, it must be brought about step by step in a way which will not disrupt the fabric of custom, law, and mutual confidence upon which personal rights depend. That is, the transition must be piecemeal; it must be

parliamentary; it must respect civil liberties and due process of law." (Paragraph 7.)

Here is the real key to the strategy of the Social Democrats—to get control of the people and their property by "due process of law."

But won't the people resist? In advanced countries like the United States and Britain where most people have substantial property holdings, won't they fight rather than give up their rights? Dr. Schlesinger thinks not:

"There is no sign in either nation that the capitalists are putting up a really determined fight." (Paragraph 8.)

Now Dr. Schlesinger outlines how the United States will be gradually socialized. He starts out with this assurance:

"There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals." (Paragraph 9.)

He feels that the next depression will panic the people into demanding more socialization:

". . . the next depression will certainly mean a vast expansion in Government ownership and control. The private owners will not only acquiesce in this, in characteristic capitalistic panic, they will demand it." (Paragraph 9.)

Notice that in this sentence Dr. Schlesinger has expanded his original definition of Socialism. In paragraph 7 he defined Socialism as "the ownership by the state of all significant means of production." Now he starts talking about "ownership and control." The Social Democrats have always felt that getting "control" of industry is the important thing. It is then easy to squeeze out the operators and "nationalize" the industry whenever it seems expedient. Dr. Schlesinger even goes so far as to state that it may be desirable to have different types of "ownership" so long as it is tightly administered by government control:

"Government ownership and control can take many forms. The independent public corporation, in the manner of TVA, is one; State and municipal ownership can exist alongside Federal owner-

ship; and techniques of the cooperatives can be expanded; *even the resources of regulation have not been fully tapped.*" (Paragraph 10.)

Undoubtedly this is the most significant sentence in the early part of Dr. Schlesinger's article. It exposes the whole socialist strategy to seize power over a free society by Government "regulation." This was Benito Mussolini's approach to socializing Italy. Of course, the Democracies have always looked upon government "regulation" as a means of *preventing* monopoly and insuring fair play in the open market. Now the Socialists come along with a plan to use Government regulation as the means of getting "Government ownership and control.". In other words, to establish a Government monopoly which would eliminate free enterprise, private ownership, and the principle of competition in the open market.

At this point Dr. Schlesinger feels he has made his point and so he concludes:

"Socialism, then, appears quite practicable within this frame of reference, as a long-term proposition." (Paragraph 11.)

Schlesinger's Idea of Saving Democracy Through Socialism

At several points in his article, Dr. Schlesinger expresses the idea that the reason he wants to promote Socialism is so that it can "save" democracy.

For example, in paragraph 7 he states: "If socialism . . . is to save democracy, it must be brought about step by step," etc., then in paragraph 11 he says Socialism's "gradual advance might well preserve order and law, keep enough internal checks and discontinuities to guarantee a *measure of freedom*, and evolve new and real forms for the expression of democracy." (Italics added.)

What is a "measure of freedom?" Even the prisoners in Alcatraz have a "measure of freedom."

The American founding fathers seem to have contradicted Dr.

Schlesinger's thesis. They counted the concentration of power in government the enemy of democracy. As James Madison warned:

"Where an excess of power prevails, property of no sort is duly respected. No man is safe in his opinions, his faculties, or his possessions." (Quoted in *Christian History of the Constitution*, by Verna Hall, p. 248-A.)

Therefore Samuel Adams declared that the American colonies proclaimed Socialism to be *unconstitutional*:

"The Utopian schemes of levelling, and a community of goods, are as visionary and impracticable as those which vest all property in the Crown, are arbitrary, despotic, and in our government, unconstitutional." (Ibid.)

In 1947, Dr. Schlesinger's example of Socialism saving a democracy was Great Britain. Yet that very same year the Socialist Labour Government adopted a compulsory labor law giving the Socialist Government the power to assign any British worker to any job that it saw fit—and for any length of time. (See F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, p. XIII.) This despotic act was a major factor which cost the Socialists the next election. They frantically repealed this law at the last moment to try to save their political skins, but the British voters ousted them.

Later, the Socialist leaders reflected on their experience and many of them honestly admitted that their experiments had almost scuttled British democracy. In a spirit of self-criticism, the Labour Party's leading intellectual, R.H.S. Crossman, wrote an evaluation and called it, *Socialism and the New Despotism.* (Fabian Tract No. 298, London, 1956.) In it Mr. Crossman admits that Socialist theory had not led toward the preservation of democracy but had resurrected the twin relics of the Dark Ages: *feudalism* and *despotism.*

Schlesinger's Views on American Democracy

Throughout his article, Dr. Schlesinger seems to look upon traditional American democracy as a weak vehicle rattling along the ruts of a political blind alley. The amazing success story of the American system is no great achievement to Dr. Schlesinger.

His manifest contempt for its businessmen, its labor movement, its religions, its democratic institutions, are salt and peppered throughout his article. Here is his caustic comment about democracies in general and American democracy in particular:

"A democracy is politically unreliable at best; the American democracy is notoriously unreliable on all questions of maintaining a continuous foreign policy. Between the irresponsibility of the capitalists, the confusion of the intellectuals, and the impotence of the working class, there may arise a state of irresolution which produces a political vacuum; and a political vacuum inevitably attracts activists—gangsters, terrorists, and totalitarians." (Paragraph 45.)

Here Dr. Schlesinger introduces his favorite bogeyman: *Fascism.* Starting with a patently false premise that "a democracy is unreliable at best," he ends up with the equally false conclusion that Socialism is the only plan of salvation since otherwise we are confronted by the specter of Fascism.

Dr. Schlesinger sees no salvation in preserving a free and open society such as the founding fathers envisioned. It is too "unreliable."

Schlesinger's Views on American Businessmen

Not only is American democracy unreliable, but its businessmen are irresponsible. He says:

"Fearing change, fearing swift action because it might portend change, lacking confidence and resolution, subject to spasms of panic and hysteria, the American business community is too irresponsible to work steadily for the national interest, or even for its narrow class interests." (Paragraph 19.)

What he especially condemns is the fact that American businessmen resist Socialism:

"But the American business community continues to resist radical democracy, like a drowning man threshing out at his rescuer. In so doing, it may destroy the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism." (Paragraphs 19-20.)

Schlesinger's Views on Organized Labor

The Socialists have always pretended to be the friends of the working man and of organized labor in particular. Dr. Schlesinger strips away the mask of pretense and boldly declares that in a Socialist society labor unions will be used for disciplining the workers, not for representing them:

"The beginnings of trade union organization at one time may have promised a serious future for an organized proletariat. But there is no point in keeping up the pretense a century later. The trade union movement is as clearly indigenous to the capitalist system as the corporation itself, and it has no particular meaning apart from that system. In a Socialist society its functions are radically changed: it becomes, not a free labor movement, but a labor front. . . . Unions inevitably become organs for disciplining the workers, not for representing them." (Paragraph 29.)

There is probably no statement by a public figure which exhibits more contempt for the laboring class than the amazing declaration by Dr. Schlesinger in paragraphs 28-32 of this article. A typical barb is as follows:

"Moreover, workers as a mass have rarely had the impulses attributed to them by Marxism. They too often believe in patriotism or religion, or read comic strips, go to movies, play slot machines and patronize taxi dance halls; in one way or another, they try to cure their discontent by narcotics rather than by surgery." (Paragraph 31.)

Notice that Dr. Schlesinger equates patriotism and religion among the "narcotics" of the working class.

This brings us to another interesting quality of Dr. Schlesinger's mind, his contempt for religion.

Schlesinger's Views on Religion

Dr. Schlesinger not only takes the traditional Marxist position that religion is a "narcotic" but he prides himself in the fact that the intellectual liberals are doing away with the "Christian myths." Here is the way he describes it:

"Official liberalism . . . dispensed with the absurd Christian myths of sin and damnation and believed that what shortcomings man might have were to be redeemed, not by Jesus on the cross, but by the benevolent unfolding of history. Tolerance, free inquiry, and technology, operating in the framework of human perfectibility, would in the end create a heaven on earth, a goal accounted much more sensible and wholesome than a heaven in heaven." (Paragraph 21.)

Schlesinger's Views on Karl Marx

Throughout Dr. Schlesinger's writings the student will observe a continuous projection of Marxist thinking. Nevertheless, Dr. Schlesinger is critical of Marx on many occasions. Most of this, however, is criticism of his tactics rather than his theories. Dr. Schlesinger visualizes attaining Marxist goals more cleverly than Marx:

"It is clear today that Marx's method was often better than his application of it." (Paragraph 47.)

Dr. Schlesinger then goes on to acknowledge that some of Marx's theories did not hold up with the passing of time and that modern intellectuals should strive toward the goals of Socialism without being handicapped by the brittle strategy which Marx advocated for achieving these goals. Dr. Schlesinger declares that the "politician-manager-intellectual types — the New Dealer —" must seize control of political power to stop any combination of forces which would "block the movement toward democratic socialism." (Paragraph 47.) Not even Marx, the master teacher, must be allowed to stand in the way.

Almost as though he were offering the supreme sacrifice, Dr. Schlesinger says:

"These seem to me the actualities of the day. If their acceptance means discarding Marx, let us by all means discard Marx." (Paragraph 48.) This, apparently, would be the ultimate in manifest devotion to the Socialist cause.

Schlesinger's Views on Communism

However, as the student might suspect, Dr. Schlesinger's basic admiration for Marx leaves him compromised when it comes to dealing with the threat of Communism. Not that he doesn't recognize the threat, he does, but the threat he fears is the possibility that Communism might take over the democracies before Socialism does! He looks upon the Soviet Union as a competitor which is striving for the same goals but using ruthless methods to achieve it. The Soviet Union is therefore not an enemy to be defeated but an ally that must be forced to cooperate.

Schlesinger says he shares the view of Schumpeter when he said: "The trouble with Russia is not that she is Socialist but that she is Russia." (Paragraph 36.) It is the element of violence in Communism which is objectionable, not the collectivization of land and industry, not the bureaucratic dictatorship, not the diminishing of individual rights, not the disrupting of the family nor the suppression of religion. If this could have been done "peacefully," gradually and subtly, Social Democrats would not protest. In fact, all of these elements were part of their own plan. Dr. Schlesinger says: "The crime of the U.S.S.R. against the world is its determination to make experiments in libertarian socialism impossible." (Paragraph 35.)

So the U.S.S.R. must be compelled to abandon violent revolution and conquest as the means of Marxizing the world and turn to the task of making Socialism work within her own borders. How can the Soviet be compelled to do this? Dr. Schlesinger advocates a two-pronged program of containing Communism on the one hand while preventing it from being destroyed and overthrown on the other hand. Here is the way he describes it:

"Reduced to its fundamentals, the American problem is to arrange the equilibrium of forces in the world so that, at every given moment of decision, the Soviet general staff will decide against aggressions that might provoke a general war on the ground that they present too great a military risk." (Paragraph 39.)

This is the Socialist approach to containment. The scheme is

not to smother Communism, but herd it back to a posture of Democratic Socialism. Dr. Schlesinger is quick to point this out:

"At the same time, the United States must not succumb to demands for an anti-Soviet crusade nor permit reactionaries in the buffer states to precipitate conflicts in defense of their own obsolete prerogatives." (Paragraph 39.)

The student may be astonished to discover that Dr. Schlesinger considers the longing for freedom in the satellites to be merely the dreams of "reactionaries" longing for their "obsolete prerogatives!"

Therefore, the Schlesinger plan is to be a "no-win" policy of co-existence while the United States uses its money and influence to create Socialist governments all over the rest of the world:

"At the same time (while we are containing the Soviet Union) U.S. backing to the parties of the non-Communist left and U.S. support for vast programs of economic reconstruction may go far toward removing the conditions of want, hunger, and economic *insecurity which are constant invitations to Soviet expansion.*" (Paragraph 40.)

Granting that Americans would like to help remove "conditions of want, hunger, and economic insecurity that are constant invitations to Soviet expansion," where does Dr. Schlesinger get the impression that Americans want to do it by subsidizing sluggish, inefficient Socialist regimes? Why not use American money to promote freedom and prosperity along traditional American lines which have produced wealth and improved standards of living faster than any system mankind has ever tried? On this point Dr. Schlesinger is silent. His plea is for Socialism.

Schlesinger's Theory That The Communists Will Change

Dr. Schlesinger has a theory in which many Socialists agree (but experts on Communism like Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer of Notre Dame do not), that Communism will mellow. Reminiscent of similar theories concerning Nazism, Fascism and the Japanese mili-

tary when they wanted oil and scrap-iron, the following statement by Dr. Schlesinger is a typical of the Schlesinger-Rostow-Acheson school of political thinkers:

"Experience has shown that a nation can sustain unlimited objectives for only a limited time. The fervor of a crusade wears a people out; after a time the country relapses from the messiah business into its national routine. The problem is to prevent the Soviet Union from breaking out of the reservation during its period of messianic intoxication." (Paragraph 38.)

"What "experience" is Dr. Schlesinger talking about? More than 40 years experience with Communism has proven the very opposite of what he is saying. However, with disdain for the past, Dr. Schlesinger boldly charts the future:

"The United States must maintain a precarious balance between a complete readiness to repel Soviet aggression beyond a certain limit and complete determination to demonstrate within this limit no aggressive U.S. intentions toward the U.S.S.R. It must commit itself, economically, politically, and militarily to the maintenance of this balance over a long period. Given sufficient time, the Soviet internal tempo will slow down." (Paragraph 40.)

Schlesinger Claims U. S. Secretly Following His Theory

In 1947, Dr. Schlesinger rejoiced in the fact that the State Department was secretly following the "risky program" which is outlined above:

"Though the secret has been kept pretty much from the readers of the liberal press, the State Department has been proceeding for some time somewhat along these lines. Both Byrnes and Marshall have perceived the essential need—to be firm without being rancorous, to check Soviet expansion without making unlimited commitments to an anti-Soviet crusade, to invoke power to counter power without engaging in senseless intimidation, to *encourage the growth of the democratic left.* The performance has often fallen below the conception; but the direction has been correct. Men like Ben Cohen, Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen, have tried

to work out details and whip up support for this admittedly risky program." (Paragraph 41, italics added.)

It was risky indeed. By the end of 1948 all of Eastern Europe had been pulled behind the Iron Curtain with a loss of over 100 million allies. By the end of 1949, we had lost China with its teeming population of between 450 and 600 million. Congressional testimony revealed that the same tragic policy continued throughout the Korean War. Even when there was a change of administration in 1952, the men master-minding foreign policy behind the scenes continued to follow the stubborn, almost blind, conviction that the Communists would change.

The vortex of tragedy was reached in 1956 after the heroic Hungarians had overthrown the Soviet yoke. In that critical hour when the Soviet Union was trying to decide whether she dared to risk a world war by re-conquering Hungary, this shocking communication arrived (via Tito) from the American State Department:

"The Government of the United States does not look with favor upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union." (Congressional Record, August 31, 1960, p. 17407.)

With this assurance, Russia charged into Hungary with approximately 200,000 troops and 5,000 tanks. The Hungarians were shot down by the tens of thousands. In a matter of days the magnificent freedom thrust of the Hungarian people had been smothered in a blood bath which violated the UN Charter, the Warsaw Pact and the Yalta Agreement. It now became clear what Schlesinger meant when he wrote in 1947:

". . . the United States must not succumb to demands for an anti-Soviet crusade nor permit reactionaries in the buffer states to precipitate conflicts in defense of their own obsolete prerogatives." (Paragraph 39.)

Schlesinger's Retreat to a "Mixed Society"

The article which Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., wrote for

the "inner circle" in 1947 actually exposed the inner sanctum of his mind. As a result, it returned to haunt him over and over again.

From a strictly strategy standpoint, it was a dangerous mistake for a man like Dr. Schlesinger who describes himself as the "politician-manager-intellectual type" to so completely identify himself with Democratic Socialism when time was liable to expose it as weak and fallacious. To be sure, he never has wanted to press his brand of Socialism to "a close-knit grip of collectivism" and said so, even in 1947 (Paragraph 10) but then he went on to subscribe wholeheartedly to the British brand of Fabian Socialism saying that "the victory of the Labour Party in the summer of 1945 brought new hope to all the people of Europe who still had freedom of political expression." (Paragraph 34.) As we have already mentioned, this experiment in socialism was turning Britain toward feudalism and despotism and was finally thrown out by the British electorate.

Of course Dr. Schlesinger is a master artist in the use of words, and since "Socialism" and "Social Democracy" have recently become semantic bullets which were shooting him down, he finally decided to retreat to higher ground by denouncing Socialism *per se*. He then went right ahead using new words that the initiated would quickly recognize as meaning the same thing. In his latest book, *The Politics of Hope* (1962, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston) he flourishes the pages with his new terminology: "the mixed society" and "the champions of the affirmative state."

Way back in 1952, Max Eastman, an old-time Socialist who in recent years had been converted to the open society of traditional Americanism, challenged Dr. Schlesinger. He charged Dr. Schlesinger with changing his words but not his ideas. He says Dr. Schlesinger became "quite savagely angry at me" for thus exposing his semantic ring-around-the-rosies. "Hhe thought I should have known that he did not mean what he said." Max Eastman, as a former Socialist strategist himself, knew precisely what the nimble mind of Dr. Schlesinger was up to, and said so.

Dr. Schlesinger retorted: "I am tired of Max Eastman and his present conviction that liberty resides in the immunity of private

business from government control. I wish he would grow up. . . ." (Max Eastman, *Reflection in the Failure of Socialism*, 1962, Devin-Adair, New York, pp. 25-26, note.)

This is exactly what Max Eastman felt he had been doing as he progressed over a 30-year period from pro-Bolshevik to Social Democrat and then from a Social Democrat to a free-enterprise American. He hoped Dr. Schlesinger who had been caught for so many years on the middle prong, could break loose and some day follow Eastman "in growing up."

Additional copies, 25 cents each or $15 per hundred. Write to: The Ensign Publishing Co., Post Office Box 2316, Salt Lake City 10, Utah

W. Cleon Skousen

has CUBA been abandoned to Communism?



W. Cleon Skousen

has  UBA been abandoned to Communism?

The Ensign Publishing Co.
Salt Lake City, Utah

©Copyright 1962, by the Ensign Publishing Co.

In all the excitement over the October, 1962, crisis in Cuba, many Americans apparently missed the fact that the President of the United States paid an appalling price for the Russian promise to dismantle the Cuban missile bases.

Nearly all the newspapers carried headlines such as "Khrushchev Backs Down," or "JFK Gets Russian Accord." Down in the small print—which too few people read—was the shocking disclosure that President Kennedy had made two commitments to Khrushchev which Cuban freedom fighters could scarcely believe:

1. *A personal guarantee by the President that the United States would not attempt to liberate Cuba.*

2. *A personal guarantee by the President that the United States would not allow any other Western Hemisphere country to liberate Cuba.*

Khrushchev's Victory

The New York Times for October 29, 1962, carried the full text of Khrushchev's reply to the Kennedy commitments. He shrewdly spelled out the embarrassing details of the amazing and completely unnecessary capitulation which President Kennedy had made in his secret letter to Khrushchev two days earlier. Said Khrushchev:

"I regard with respect and trust the statement you made in your

message on October 27, 1962, that there would be no attack, no invasion of Cuba, and not only on the part of the United States, but also on the part of other nations of the Western Hemisphere, as you have said in the same message of yours." (*The New York Times*, Western Edition, October 29, 1962, p. 4.)

Those who caught the full impact of this tremendous legal and diplomatic victory for Khrushchev wondered how the President and his advisors could have been so completely outmaneuvered. Only a few days before, President Kennedy had made himself a world hero by standing up to Khrushchev and commanding the military might of the U.S. armed services to throw a blockade around Cuba. Khrushchev had immediately tried to conciliate the President by promising that the Soviet Union would not indulge in "any rash act." It was obvious that Khrushchev was afraid of the brink.

Note: For a brief background on Castro's original conquest of Cuba see The Naked Communist, *chapter* 11.

Military authorities had already advised the White House that the Soviet leaders would not dare make a war issue out of Cuba because of America's vast superiority in fire power. Latin American countries had assured the United States of their complete support in this new posture of U.S. firmness. Thousands of Cuban freedom fighters had been encouraged to join Spanish speaking units of the U.S. Army with the confidence that the liberation of Communist-conquered Cuba was only days away. Members of Congress openly assured the President that this was the hour to invoke the Monroe Doctrine and the Rio Pact to show the Soviet Union that foreign conquests of independent nations in North and South America would not be tolerated.

With such manifest forces of unity and strength behind the United States, why did the Administration allow Khrushchev to extort from it a promise that there would be no attempt to liberate Cuba if the Soviets would just dismantle their illegal missile bases? And by what authority did the President commit the military might and

prestige of the United States to a policy of preventing any other country in the Western Hemisphere from liberating Cuba?

There was also the very serious possibility that the President had entered into a secret pact which amounted to a treaty agreement without providing any opportunity to have the Senate approve it as required by the Constitution. The treaty approving power of the Senate was intended by the founding fathers to bring the facts out in the open where the people could have a chance to examine the issues before any sweeping commitments were made. In this spirit Woodrow Wilson had strongly advocated "open covenants, openly arrived at." The merits of such a policy were demonstrated in the Kennedy-Khrushchev negotiations. If Khrushchev had not published these commitments, the American people might never have heard of them. Undoubtedly Khrushchev knew he was embarrassing the American president by publishing what was to have remained a secret agreement between two heads of state.

Citizens wondered what was in the President's mind when he deliberately tied the hand of the American forces and committed the United States to a permanent policy of neutrality toward Soviet-conquered Cuba.

Is President Kennedy Following the Schlesinger-Acheson Line?

Among the closest advisors to President Kennedy is Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who has openly opposed any anti-Soviet policy. He also says the United States can come to socialism "through a series of New Deals." He has referred to the freedom fighters behind the iron curtain as "reactionaries" and called their lost liberties "obsolete prerogatives." As far back as 1947 Dr. Schlesinger boasted that the State Department was following the policies which he advocated:

> *"Though the secret has been kept pretty much from the readers of the liberal press, the State Department has been proceeding*

for some time somewhat along these lines. Both Byrnes and Marshall have perceived the essential need—to be firm without being rancorous, to check Soviet expansion without making unlimited commitments to an anti-Soviet crusade, to invoke power to counter power without engaging in senseless intimidation, to encourage the growth of the democratic left. *The performance has often fallen below the conception; but the direction has been correct. Men like Ben Cohen, Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen, have tried to work out details and whip up support for this admittedly risky program."* (Congressional Record, September 26, 1961, p. 20125, romans added.)

It was risky indeed. By the end of 1948 all of Eastern Europe had been pulled behind the Iron Curtain with a loss of over 100 million allies. By the end of 1949, we had lost China with its teeming population of between 450 and 600 million. Congressional testimony revealed that the same tragic policy continued throughout the Korean War. Even when there was a change of administration in 1952 the men who were master-minding the foreign policy behind the scenes continued to follow the stubborn, almost blind, conviction that the Communists would change.

As Dr. Schlesinger pointed out in his book, *The Vital Center* (1949), the object is to have Communism mellow and the free democracies come together with it under peaceful socialism. That is what he means by stating that we should contain the Soviets but push the rest of the world toward the "democratic left." He believes the Communist leaders should *not* be looked upon as enemies but as over-zealous allies whose brutalities must be tempered so that they behave more like true socialists. And because the Communists are allies in this sense, Dr. Schlesinger is not in favor of liberating any of the Communist-conquered countries. He makes this very clear in his statement:

"At the same time, the United States must not succumb to demands for an anti-Soviet crusade nor permit reactionaries in

the buffer states to precipitate conflicts in defense of their own obsolete prerogatives." (Ibid.)

Notice that the freedom fighters behind the iron curtain are referred to as "reactionaries" and their longing for liberty as "obsolete prerogatives."

These views are prevalent among a certain body of powerful policy makers who serve in the State Department and the White House. Their influence seeps to the surface on numerous occasions where it may be easily observed.

The Policy of Softness Toward Communism

In the Cuban crisis of October, 1962, the President was apparently guided by these policy-makers who followed the Schlesinger line as outlined above. It was characterized by a determination to remove the threat of Russian military conquest but smother the rising tide of popular demand for the liberation of Cuba from Communism. It was the same kind of thinking during the previous administration which guided the State Department in supporting Castro in spite of reliable warnings that he was a Soviet agent. Men of this persuasion do not seem to fear the cunning of Communists the way most ordinary people do. They somehow feel that the Communists can be controlled, they can be manipulated, they can be forced to "mellow." They therefore approach them in a spirit of accommodation and appeasement which often violates the most elementary aspects of protecting American interests. This is evident in the following incidents which have occurred during the past 18 months. These incidents shocked many Americans at the time they occurred, but only on rare occasions were enough citizens paying attention to do anything about it. Every one of these incidents created circumstances favorable to the Communist position and detrimental to that of the United States:

1. *Official State Department proposal to disarm the United*

States and transfer its military, naval and air force equipment (including nuclear weapons) to the United Nations.

2. *Refusal by the President to proclaim the third week in July as the traditional "Captive Nations Week" because it was "an unnecessary irritant in relations with the Soviets." Public pressure finally prevailed but the proclamation was extremely weak, making no reference to Communism and the slave states under it.*

3. *Ordered the dismissal of charges against indicted Russian spy, Igor Y. Melekh, to "improve Soviet-American relations."*

4. *Ordered the release from prison of Communist Party organizational secretary, Harry Winston, one of 11 Communist leaders convicted of conspiring to overthrow the United States government by force and violence. Winston immediately went to Russia with State Department permission where he appeared on radio and television castigating the United States.*

5. *Forced the anti-Communist government of Laos to accept Communists in positions of leadership. Threatened to withdraw all American aid if the Laotian Government failed to comply.*

6. *Ordered the lifting of the ban on the distribution of Communist propaganda through the U.S. mails, allowing it to be distributed to American citizens postage free.*

7. *Forced Dutch New Guinea to become a part of pro-Communist Indonesia in spite of a previous promise to help these people become an independent country.*

8. *Openly promoted a Communist coalition government in the Congo. Gave financial support to the conquest of Katanga which had broken away from the Congo in protest against the Communist domination of the government.*

9. *Sent more than 70 jet planes to the Communist government of Yugoslavia.*

10. *Used political pressure to force the Senate to give up its resistance to foreign aid to Yugoslavia and Poland.*

11. Ordered military officials to submit speeches to the State Department for censorship. *References to the threat of the Soviet Union and the need for victory in the cold war were deleted.*

12. *Began laying the foundation for the seating of Red China in the United Nations and then backed away under an avalanche of public protest.*

13. *Pushed through the abolishing of the loyalty oath for students seeking Federal loans.*

14. *Sided with Russia in condemning our long-time ally, Portugal, for suppressing the Communist-inspired uprising in Angola. Allies in Europe condemned U.S. for being on the wrong side.*

15. *Initiated negotiations with Russia to discuss concession of rights in Berlin when these rights had been previously fixed in at least five iron-clad agreements.*

Soft Policy Shows Up at Bay of Pigs Invasion

In an article entitled, "Kennedy's Fateful Decision," the *U.S. News and World Report* for September 17, 1962, summarized the facts surrounding the tragic Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. The Readers Digest reprinted the same article in its November, 1962, issue.

The facts are not pleasant. President Kennedy had approved the invasion which took place April 17, 1961, and he had promised the invaders air cover. Two U.S. carriers, their decks loaded with fighting planes, were standing by within easy striking distance. In addition, the invaders had their own planes which they expected to use for their protection. Here is the way the article describes what happened:

"Secure in this assurance of air support, the invaders went ashore in the early morning darkness of Monday, April 17. Their landing was successful: 1,400 armed men reached the beaches of a place called the Bay of Pigs.

"In the battle that followed, Castro's troops suffered heavy casualties. Castro's tanks, coming up to the battle, were sitting ducks for an attack by air. Confidently, the little invading force waited for its air support to arrive. Its leaders had assurance of that support. It was provided in the pre-invasion planning.

"Hours before, on Sunday evening, a small but potent force of B-26s was sitting in readiness on an airfield 500 miles away, waiting to take off for the Bay of Pigs. Those were planes of the invasion force, with Cuban pilots.

"But those planes didn't take off.

"The reason: President Kennedy forbade their use.

"That was the fateful decision President Kennedy made on that Sunday evening. He decided that the anti-Castro Cubans could not have the support of their own air force during the invasion. Without that support, the invasion failed."

President Kennedy made his decision the night before the invasion and while the invasion force was still on the high seas. Nevertheless, *the Cubans were allowed to continue their course and make their landing without ever being told that their air cover had been cancelled.* The military aspects of the decision was one factor, the moral question of promising these fighting men protection and then removing it without letting them know, was quite another. It did something to the image of American leadership in Latin American minds which may never be forgiven.

Then there is the military aspect of the decision.

Even after the landing when officials in charge of the invasion pleaded with the President to change his mind, he refused. Even when

they told him the mission was collapsing he remained adamant. In this hour President Kennedy was the Commander in Chief. No one could overrule him. Whatever his motives, they must have been powerful indeed to resist both the advice of CIA officials and the obvious embarrassment which the collapse of the invasion was bound to bring.

The *U.S. News and World Report* emphasizes how easy it would have been to liberate Cuba had the President's promised help been provided:

> *"The invaders inflicted close to 2,000 casualties on Castro's forces, suffered only a hundred or so casualties of their own. But without air support, the invaders could not hold out. Most of them wound up as Castro captives.*
>
> *"American military officials who followed this operation say that it came within a hair's breadth of success. They say: Given early air support, the invaders could have destroyed Castro's air force and tanks. Defections from his militia, which had started, would have spread. Underground forces, waiting for word of success before rising against Castro, would have sprung into action. When that word did not come, they remained underground."*

Soft Policy Shows Up in Event Culminating in the October Crisis

By midsummer, 1962, it was impossible to completely suppress the reports from Cuba that the Soviets had landed substantial military forces and were building Cuban bases for the launching of nuclear missiles. Senator Kenneth B. Keating of New York carried these reports to the floor of the Senate in August, 1962. He repeated them during the month of September. On October 10th he declared: "Construction has begun on at least a half dozen launching sites for

intermediate-range tactical missiles. . . . My own sources on the Cuban situation . . . have substantiated this report completely."

The Administration seemed casual if not indifferent to these warnings. It is now known that by October 16th aerial photos had verified the existence of both offensive missiles and Soviet jet bombers in Cuba but the official line continued to discount charges that a crisis was brewing in Cuba. As late as October 20, newsmen peppered the Defense Department with questions about the reports of Soviet missiles and jet bombers in Cuba and were *met with flat denials.*

The *U.S. News and World Report* later published an article entitled: "How U.S. Newsmen Were Misled About Cuba." The article stated:

> *"American news reporters and editors are complaining that they were deceived by the Kennedy Administraion about the situation in Cuba."* (Issue of November 5, 1962, p. 8.)

The President, meanwhile, was on a campaign tour, and had run headlong into a political chill at the grassroots level wherever the subject of Cuba came up. On the eve of an election the crisis in Cuba had become an issue with the people. Suddenly, the President terminated his tour, claiming he had contracted "a cold," and hurried back to Washington.

Two days later President Kennedy went on the air and proclaimed a blockade of Cuba. A shout of triumph went up all over the free world. It looked as though the sleeping giant were waking up at last. But certain aspects of the President's blockade speech were puzzling: the Monroe Doctrine was never mentioned, there was no promise of any help to liberate the Cuban people, the overthrow of Castro's Communist regime was denitely not on the agenda.

It was on October 27th that President Kennedy sent his secret communication to Khrushchev promising that no attempt would be made to invade Cuba and that no other country in the Western Hemisphere would be allowed to liberate Cuba if the Soviet Union

would remove its missiles. It was on October 29th that the New York Times published the full text of Khrushchev's reply and told the world what President Kennedy had agreed to do.

It appeared that legally and diplomatically, Cuba had been abandoned to Communism.

The Administration team had conducted itself completely within the framework of the Schlesinger-Acheson doctrine of keeping the Soviet within bounds but not attempting to liberate any Communist-conquered territory.

Only one question then remained for Cuba: would the American people stand for it? Americans everywhere seemed to feel that the sooner Cuba was liberated the less blood it would cost. The longer it was postponed the stronger the forces would become which inevitably must be rooted out. They knew it was not just for Cuba that a new policy of firmness was required—the whole future of the world depended on it.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 1, 1963

FROM : W. R. Wannall

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. J.P.Mohr
1 - Mr. N.P.Callahan
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Mullins

SUBJECT: ~~"HAS~~ CUBA BEEN ABANDONED TO COMMUNISM?"
(PAMPHLET BY W. CLEON SKOUSEN)

W. CLEON SKOUSEN

Per memorandum N. P. Callahan to the Director 3/20/63, entitled "The Congressional Record," Senator Moss (D-Utah) spoke in Congress the previous day concerning captioned pamphlet. The Senator indicated the pamphlet went far beyond usual distortions in striking at our form of representative democracy; said he suspected it had John Birch Society backing; and it implied the President had betrayed the American people. We had Salt Lake City obtain a copy of the pamphlet by Skousen, who, since his resignation as Special Agent on 10/5/51, has lectured widely concerning communism, published books on communism, and has generally associated himself with right-wing groups.

The eleven-page pamphlet accuses the President of paying an appalling price for the dismantling of Soviet missiles in Cuba by personally guaranteeing the U. S. would not attempt to liberate Cuba and also guaranteeing the U. S. would not allow any other Western Hemisphere country to liberate Cuba. Skousen cited 15 instances which he claims show the Administration's soft policy toward communism. Some specific examples cited were placing of U. S. nuclear weapons in hands of the United Nations, release of communist leader Henry Winston from prison so he could go to Russia and castigate the U. S., shipping planes to Yugoslavia, and forcing small nations to accept communists in their governments or to accept a communist type of government.

President Kennedy is blamed for our failure to give air support to the Cuban invasion in April, 1961, and Skousen concludes that our policy clearly shows we have legally and diplomatically abandoned Cuba to communism. Presidential Advisor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and former Secretary of State Dean Acheson are pictured as the architects of our present foreign policy.

BY W. CLEON SKOUSEN

In a separate pamphlet entitled "Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Man behind the scene in Washington," which Salt Lake City furnished with the captioned pamphlet, Skousen devoted 15 pages to Schlesinger and Schlesinger's "democratic socialism." Skousen cites excerpts from Schlesinger's published views on democracy, business, religion, Marxism and communism, which he claims show a "continuous projection of Marxist thinking."

94-47468-68

REC-28

94-47468
1 - 67-69602 (Skousen)
RAM:djw
(9)

APR 11 1963

25 APR 11 1963

5

67 APR 18 1963

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-51050

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan
RE: "HAS CUBA BEEN ABANDONED TO COMMUNISM?"
94-47468

OBSERVATIONS:

The views expressed by Skousen are similar to many published criticisms of the Administration. It would appear Senator Moss would have no logical reason to bring up the rather insignificant pamphlet before Congress except to ingratiate himself with the Administration. It does appear Skousen has gone off the deep end to some extent. However, Salt Lake City indicates the pamphlet is being sold for 25 cents there and Skousen did pick a topic which is of wide interest to the public.

ACTION:

For information.

V.

4-528

94-47468-68

CHANGED TO

100-425828-80

JUN 11 1963

ps - Jpd

C

4-572 (Rev. 2-19-60)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: APRIL 10, 1963

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 5064-5068. Senator Moss, (D) Utah, spoke concerning a pamphlet entitled "Has Cuba Been Abandoned to Communism?" written by V. Cleon Skousen. Mr. Moss pointed out that this pamphlet "represents a serious attempt to undermine the confidence of the American people in their Government." Mr. Moss went on to state "I have taken this trouble to clarify the charges brought up by Mr. Skousen not to honor them as worthy of answering, but to discredit them. Such charges, whether they be made against President Eisenhower or President Kennedy, are designed to undermine the faith of the American people in their duly elected public officials. - - - I would like to close with a quote from the Director of the FBI, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, who wrote in his book, 'Masters of Deceit,' which described the dangers of the Communist menace to the United States, that--'As we have seen, identifying Communists is not easy. They are trained in deceit and trickery and use every form of camouflage and dishonesty to advance their cause. - - - Too often I have seen cases where loyal and patriotic but misguided Americans have thought they were "fighting communism" by slapping the label of "Red" or "Communist" on anybody who happened to be different from them or to have ideas with which they did not agree. - - -" Mr. Moss spoke on this same subject on March 18th on the Senate floor and his comments were set forth in a memorandum dated March 20th. (V. Cleon Skousen was employed by the Bureau as a messenger on October 24, 1936, and was appointed as Agent on June 17, 1940. He resigned on October 5, 1951. His services were satisfactory).

Original filed in: 66-1731-3874

94-47468-
NOT RECORDED
176 APR 23 1963

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for Tuesday APRIL 9, 1963 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

58 APR 29 1963

November 25, 1963

REC-50 94-47468-69

Mr. Howard G. Grant
County Agricultural Agent
Agricultural Extension Service
Meeker County
Litchfield, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Grant:

Your letter of November 19th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, Mr. Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, which position he held until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned on October 5, 1951. Inasmuch as I am not fully acquainted with all of Mr. Skousen's activities since he left the FBI and the opinions expressed in his writings and publications are his own, I am unable to comment along the lines you suggested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 5
NOV 26 1963
COMM-FBI

1 - Minneapolis - Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DFC:paw
(4)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

53 DEC 5 1963
212

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Nov 26 10 58 AM '63
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE
MEEKER COUNTY
LITCHFIELD, MINNESOTA
Courthouse
Telephone OX 3-8515

University of Minnesota
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
and Meeker County
Cooperating

Cooperative Extensio
in Agr
Home E
and 4

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mohr
DEC 19 1963

November 19, 1963

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Dept. of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sirs,

We recently had Mr. W. Cleon Skousen of Salt Lake City as a speaker on current affairs. We thoroughly enjoyed his talk and want to have him back again, sometime. However, a skeptic in our town wants me to get an opinion on him from you, as he was with the F. B. I. for 16 years. May I hear from you, please.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Howard G. Grant.

Howard G. Grant
County Agricultural Agent
Meeker County

/pe

ack 11-25-63
DTC: ples/paw
Xerox 11-22-63

REC- 50 94- 47468-69

14 NOV 21 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

GRANT- NMI
SKOUSEN - SCL (ADDITIVE) 91

November 14, 1963

94-47468-

Mr. Alan L. Fitzgibbon
World Wide Medical News Service, Inc.
130 East 59th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fitzgibbon:

Your letter of November 8th was received as Mr. Hoover was preparing to leave the city.

With respect to your inquiry, he asked me to advise you that Mr. Matthew Cvetic furnished information regarding subversive activities on a confidential basis to this Bureau from 1943 to 1950, for which he was compensated. He was not an employee of the FBI. Mr. Howard D. Smoot was a Special Agent of the FBI from March 23, 1942, to June 15, 1951, when he voluntarily submitted his resignation. Mr. W. Cleon Skousen was a clerical employee of the FBI from October 24, 1935, until June 17, 1940, when he was assigned as a Special Agent of this Bureau. On October 5, 1951, he voluntarily submitted his resignation.

MAILED 11
NOV 14 1963
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1 - New York - Enclosure

NOTE: In response to a previous inquiry from the above individual, Morrell to DeLoach memorandum dated 4/4/63 captioned "Alan L. Fitzgibbon; Miscellaneous" recommended that this individual receive a letter over Miss Gandy's signature in view of the fact that Bufiles indicate

DFC:cai

Con't next page

6 0 NOV 26 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 109052-1

Mr. Alan L. Fitzgibbon

World Wide Medical News Service, Inc. has had numerous employees who were in contact with known or suspected espionage agents. In accordance with this recommendation the above reply is being furnished over Miss Gandy's signature.

World Wide Medical News Ser

130 East 59th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

PL 9-6300

November

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I would much appreciate knowing the employment dates and capacities with your Bureau of Cleon Skousen, Dan Smoot, and Matt Cvetic.

Sincerely,

Alan L. Fitzgibbon

Alan L. Fitzgibbon

AF:jt

94-47468-

NOT RECORDED
191 NOV 20 1963

12 NOV 19 1963

EXP. PROC.

NOV 12 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62 - 109052-1

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach DATE: 5/24/63

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: KENNETH A. WATTIER
1119 CALEDONIA STREET
BUTTE, MONTANA

100-425828

Captioned individual wrote May 20th and enclosed a Xerox dated 5/1/63 circulated by KXLF Television, Butte, Montana, which contains a three paragraph quotation attributed to the Director. Correspondent supports "Freedom University of the Air" and states that reception for this series of programs was good in his area until it became time to buy station time at which point Mr. Edmond L. Peiss of KXLF TV refused on the ground that W. Cleon Skousen was undesirable. Mr. Peiss distributed the leaflet and was according to correspondent distributing literature of a known anti-anticommunist. Correspondent does not believe the Director's comments pertain to Skousen and desires clarification.

Bufiles indicate that correspondent wrote the Director 2/2/61 asking for reprint material and comments that "Masters of Deceit" is tremendous. He stated "I am working with the John Birch Society."

94-47468
NOT RECORDED
57 JUN 11 1963

b6
b7C
b7D

The three paragraphs quoting the Director are from a letter dated November 21, 1962, from the Director to Mr. J. Allen Jensen, Executive Vice President, Idaho Radio Corporation, Idaho Falls, Idaho. Mr. Jensen wrote an informative, intelligent letter regarding efforts of "Freedom University of the Air." This series of programs is produced by American Forum, Inc., and contains speakers such as Skousen, [redacted] Karl Prussion, Dr. Bella V. Dodd, et al. Jensen stated that he had reservations concerning individuals who make a living out of being anticommunists and who trade on their experiences with the FBI. He did not question the reliability of Bureau informants but stated that he did not feel that after they were exposed and no longer of use to the Bureau that they became "shining Americans," that he does not particularly trust former members of the Communist Party who have left the Party and are now professed anticommunists and he did not feel that all former Special Agents were necessarily qualified as experts on communism. He indicated he felt a real responsibility to the public as to what type of program he should schedule and asked for any assistance regarding this series of programs or other pertinent background material.

REC-74 100-425828-79

The significant part of the Director's answer is quoted. It clearly points out that the Director is speaking generally and is not referring to any specific organization or to quote "Freedom University of the Air."

MAY 28 1963

Enclosure

JH:alk (2)

PERS. REC. UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-425828-79

Morrell to DeLoach Memo
RE: KENNETH A. WATTIER

Edmond L. Peiss cannot be identified in Bufiles and we have no derogatory information concerning KXLF TV.

"Freedom University of the Air" consists of 65 films of 26 minutes duration. While produced by the American Forum, Inc., they are sponsored by the American Security Council, an organization operated by private industry as a national research and information center on subversive activities. Many of its members are former Special Agents including Skousen. SAC Mason of the Cincinnati Office had occasion to see a private showing of a pilot film from this series being used in efforts to sell the program. His letter dated 1/23/63 indicated he had doubts as to whether or not the films were actually free from editorializing as the producer claims. He stated that he could not personally subscribe to some of the statements made by individuals and he took particular offense at the emphasis on Skousen's prior association with the FBI. SAC Mason pointed out that after leaving the FBI Skousen served as a Chief of Police at Salt Lake City and a member of the faculty of Brigham Young University and has engaged in other endeavors, none of which were mentioned in the film. His advertised former association with the Bureau is an obvious effort to trade on the Bureau's efforts.

OBSERVATION:

The three paragraph quotation in the item enclosed by correspondent clearly states the Director's position. A specific organization is not criticized but a clear warning is given to carefully evaluate persons claiming to be experts on communism even though they have prior association with the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

in-absence
That attached letter be forwarded to correspondent advising him that the Director is quoted accurately and that the quotation clearly indicates that he is not referring to any specific organization but presents his general views.

X

REC-20 94-47468-70

February 5, 1964

EX-117

Dr. Jerry L. Sheaffer
825 South Main Street
Findlay, Ohio

Dear Dr. Sheaffer:

Your letter of February 1st has been received, and I want to thank you for your kind comment concerning the work being done by this Bureau.

In response to your inquiry, Mr. Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, which position he held until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned on October 5, 1951. Since I am not fully acquainted with all of Mr. Skousen's activities since leaving the FBI and the opinions expressed in his writings and publications are his own, I am unable to comment along the lines you suggested.

I am enclosing literature of the FBI on the general subject of communism, and I hope it will be of interest and assistance in connection with the program you are planning.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
FEB 5 4 37 PM '64

MAILED 11
FEB 5 1964
COMM-FBI

4

Enclosures (5)
Deadly Duel
Why Reds Make Friends with Businessmen
What You Can Do To Fight Communism
"Faith in Freedom"
One Nation's Response To Communism
NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

DCL:ped (3)

FEB 14 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DR. JERRY L. SHEAFFER
PRACTICE LIMITED TO CHILDREN
625 SOUTH MAIN STREET
FINDLAY, OHIO

February 1, 1964

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I would appreciate some information in regard to W. Cleon Skousen, the author of "The Naked Communist." I have recently completed the reading of your books on the subject which were both enlightening and somewhat frightening.

I would appreciate knowing if you are familiar with Mr. Skousen and/or his book and if so, do you feel that this work is based on good facts and is authoritative.

A group of us are sponsoring a talk on the subject of communism by Mr. Skousen and we would appreciate your views, if any, since we feel you are undoubtedly the most informed man in the country on this menace. We are all deeply indebted to you for the work you are doing.

REC- 20
EX.-117

Sincerely,

94 - 474687C

Dr. Jerry L. Sheaffer

JLS:gm

Jerry L. Sheaffer, D.D.S.

FEB 3 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

11 FEB 3 1964

CORRESPONDENCE

PERS. REC. UNIT

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

10-1

ack 2/5/64
dd fe
mrd

EX 101

REC 5 94-47468-71

February 24, 1964

FEB 24 11 04 AM '64
REC'D-READING ROOM
F B I

Mr. William W. Nordan
Director
Henry County Civil War
Centennial Committee
Post Office Box 341
Abbeville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Nordan:

I have received your letter of February 12th.

With respect to your inquiry, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Therefore, I trust you will understand why I am not in a position to comment along the lines you have suggested about the book you mentioned.

It is contrary to my long-standing policy to recommend literature not prepared by personnel of this Bureau or by me. As a result, this Bureau does not have a list such as you requested available for distribution.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DTP:jf (3)

MAILED 5
FEB 24 1964
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

59 MAR 2 1964

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

WILLIAM NORDAN
Director

GROVER RAY
Assistant Director

Henry County

APRIL 23-24 — APRIL 25-26

MARGERY
Executiv

Civil War Centennial Committee

P. O. BOX 341
ABBEVILLE, ALABAMA

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Ept.

February 12, 1964

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
F. B. I.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Would you please give us your opinion of "THE NAKED COMMUNIST" by W. Cleon Skousen.

We are in the process of donating anti-communist publications to all white and colored libraries within our county. Within the past three years have reveiwed several dozen such books including the two that you have authored. We were of the opinion that this publication was outstanding in subject, outline and simplicity of presentation therefore now have these books on hand ready for presentation. Some of the opinions we have on this book and author have put us to wondering if we are correct in endorsing this book for high school consumption.

One state politician informs us that Skousen was fired as chief of police in Salt Lake City and called "an incipient Hitler," that tried to run the police department like the Communists in Russia.

We would certainly appreciate your opinion of this book prior to further action on our part.

Please furnish us with a list of books and publications that you would suggest we should purchase for this project.

Sincerely yours,

William W. Nordan

94-47468-71

REC 5

8 FEB 18 1964

EX 104

CORRESPONDENCE

dtk: 2-24-64
DTP:dtk/ff

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: C. D. DE LOACH)

DATE: 2/18/64

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI

SUBJECT: USE OF FBI'S NAME

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C
b7D

Attached is a clipping of a letter to the editor of the Cincinnati Post & Times Star, February 18 edition, concerning, in part, [redacted] who formerly served as [redacted]

On Sunday, February 16, former SA W. CLEON SKOUSEN appeared in a local Cincinnati telecast over WCPO-TV. SKOUSEN was in the community for a speaking engagement, but did not contact this office.

During the telecast, SKOUSEN handled himself rather well, made no wild statements, and seemed to stay out of the political arena. On the other hand, he referred to Director HOOVER every three or four sentences, always in a praiseful way; and did not hesitate to re-emphasize SKOUSEN's prior service as an FBI Agent.

I worry a bit about these presentations because I think it is bad taste for an individual who has left the FBI to continue to ride on the FBI's reputation and thus create in the minds of listeners a feeling that the person is still possibly affiliated with FBI or even endorsed by the organization.

I do not know how it can be stopped.

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (Encl. 1)
1 - Cincinnati

EDM:ked
(3)

REC 5 94-47468-72

EX-103

6 FEB 19 1964

EX-PLANATION

FEB 19 1964

CRIME RESEARCH

PERS. REC. UNIT

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

LETTERS to The Editor

Council of Churches

Once a faithful supporter of the Council of Churches, I now agree with H. Staib who objected to "a few fuzzy-minded leaders and self-righteous directors speaking for the Protestants of America."

I object not only to this, but to the Council's spending last summer of $90,000 in bail bonds for racial demonstrators. I am sympathetic with the Council's hatred of race prejudice but strongly object to their advocating "forced integration," and their lobbying for controversial issues.

One example of this fuzzy-mindedness: I was in a class taught by our present Cincinnati director when he stated that "we are in no danger from internal Communism in America today!" And yet, Herb Philbrick, nine years an FBI counterspy, stated in the Christian Herald, "the churches have been selected as No. 1 target of the Communist conspiracy in America and the peace propaganda being distributed by the National Council of Churches to local churches is the slickest, trickiest, and most insidious I have ever seen."

RUTH IMHOFF SCHUMACHER, 9431 Kemper lane.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Cincinnati Enquirer
Cincinnati, Ohio
Cincinnati Post & Times Star
6 Cincinnati, Ohio

The Citizen Journal
Columbus, Ohio

Columbus Dispatch
Columbus, Ohio

Dayton Daily News
Dayton, Ohio

Journal Herald
Dayton, Ohio

Date: 2/18/64
Edition: 7-Star Final
Author:
Editor: Dick Thornburg
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Cincinnati

☐ Being Investigated

ENCLOSURE 94-47468-72

PERS/REC. UNIT

REC-28 EX-115
94-47468-73

March 3, 1964

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of February 21st.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, at which time he became a Special Agent. His services with our organization were terminated on October 5, 1951, when he voluntarily submitted his resignation. His opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way.

I am enclosing some literature I trust will be of interest to you. It contains suggestions all of us can use in combating the communist menace. You may also wish to refer to my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." These were written to help Americans gain an insight into the strategy and tactics of communists, both in this country and abroad. These books may be available at your local library.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
MAR 3 - 1964
COMM-FBI

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (5)
Faith in Freedom
Keys to Freedom
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality
The Communist Menace

1 - Birmingham - Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bureau files.

RR:djg (4)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

58 MAR 16 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

XEROX

MAR 11 1964

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
MAR 3 5 07 PM '64

[redacted]

February 21, 1964

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b6
b7C
b7D

Dear Sir,

Last Tuesday I attended a meeting at which W. Cleon Skousen was the featured speaker. Posters and tickets billed Mr. Skousen as "former F.B.I. Agent, Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover; his subject was "Retreat Means Defeat" and for almost two hours blamed every error in judgement on the part of our government on communism - and praised to the heavens the John Birch Society, General Walker, and Senator Thurmond.

Before going any further with my complaint to the "Business and Professional Men's Club" which sponsored him, I would like more information on why Mr. Skousen is no longer with the F.B.I. - did he part under favorable conditions?

His attack on the "soft" policy of our government since 1940 has so irritated me - actually this is my first exposure to this kind of thinking - that I don't know where to start to do my part to combat this type of thinking.

1300 people filled that auditorium and devoured everything he said. Sad to say I couldn't always separate his half-truths from the facts and am determined to become better informed in order to do something positive to counteract his type of speaker. But where to begin?

Sincerely,

[redacted]

COPY:jad

XEROX
MAR 11 1964

[redacted]

[redacted]

2nd page

FBI

b6
b7C
b7D

February 21, 1964

FED. BU. OF INV.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEB 26 1964
RECORDS BRANCH

Dear Sir,

Last Tuesday I attended a meeting at which the Rev. Strausen was the featured speaker. Posters and tickets billed Mr. Skousen as "former F.B.I Agent, Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover" his subject was "Retreat Means Defeat" and for almost two hours and blamed every error in judgement on the part of our government on Communism and paused to

FED. BU. OF INV.

EX-115

the heavens the John Birch Society, General Walker, and Senator Thurmond.

Before going any further with my complaint to the Business and Professional Mens Club which sponsored him, I would like more information on why Mr. Skousen is no longer with the F.B.I - did he part under favorable conditions?

His attack on the "soft" policy of our government since 1940 has so irritated me - actually this is my first exposure to this kind of thinking - that I don't know where to start to do my part to

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Combat this type of thinking 1300 people filled that Auditorium and devoured everything he said. Sad to say I couldn't always separate his half-truths from the facts and am determined to become better informed in order to do something positive to counteract this type of speaker. But where to begin?

Sincerely

[redacted]

Business and Professional Mens Club

Sponsoring

W. Cleon Skousen

Former F. B. I. Agent, Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover

Author, *"The Naked Communist"*

"So You Want To Raise A Boy"

Editor, *Law and Order Magazine*

SHADES VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

Tuesday, Feb. 18th 8:00 P. M.

Door Prize **"Retreat Means Defeat"** **$1.00**

No. 3816

Tickets Courtesy of

East End Insurance Agency

"All Types Insurance"

L. A. Cocoran, Jr L. A. Cocoran, Sr.

1343 XEROX

1 1964

ENCLOSURE

94- 47468-73

EX 104

DEC 29 94-47468-74

March 27, 1964

Mr. Pelayo Riera
1411 Tucker Road
Macon, Georgia 31204

MAR 27 4 43 PM '64
REC'D-READING ROOM
F.B.I.

Dear Mr. Riera:

I have received your letter of March 21st.

In response to your inquiry, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned that position on October 5, 1951. It has been my policy over the years not to comment on any material not prepared by me or this Bureau. For this reason, I am not able to respond in the manner you requested. The opinions expressed by Mr. Skousen are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Bufiles contain no derogatory information concerning correspondent. W. Cleon Skousen and his book are well known to the Bureau.

RR:mc
(3)

MAILED 19
MAR 27 1964
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

XEROX
APR 8 1964
MAIL ROOM
TELETYPE UNIT

1411 Tucker Road
Macon, Georgia, 31204

March 21, 1964

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
The Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

As a Cuban citizen living in the United States I have had occasion to give talks to civic clubs and church groups describing the many devious means used by Castro to destroy the principles of freedom and substitute the ruthless "Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

On one occasion I had cause to refer to the book "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen and wastold that an FBI lecturer by the name of Sullivan had stated that the author of this book constituted a 'source of embarrassment to the FBI'.

Such a statement, if true, wouldtend to undermine the credibility of the author in his charges against Communism.

I hope it will be possible for you to give me your opinion of "The Naked Communist" and of its author's reliability.

Sincerely yours,

Pelayo Riera

MAR 25 1964

FBI

REC 28

94-47468-

MAR 25

EX-104

CORRESPONDENCE

XEROX
APR 8 1964

REC-52

94-47468-75

April 2, 1964

Mr. Robert P. Crosby
Board of Education
The Methodist Church
Post Office Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Crosby:

Your letter of March 25th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I have repeatedly stated that the Communist Party in this country has attempted to infiltrate and subvert every segment of our society. Its efforts are being thwarted by the FBI's internal security programs, by investigation, arrest and prosecution of Party functionaries, and by widespread, intelligent public opposition to the communist philosophy. These achievements are being accomplished through orderly, legal procedures.

Despite the above, the world communist conspiracy and its advocates in the United States continue to pose a basic threat to our country. It is important that our citizens educate themselves concerning the true nature of this atheistic philosophy in order that they will be able to resist its eroding influence. At the same time, opposition to communism must be careful and constructive, and kept within the due process of law. It is not enough to be merely against communism. We should exhibit in positive ways the superiority of our form of government over any foreign ideology.

With respect to Mr. W. Cleon Skousen, he entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures and his opinions and comments are strictly his own and this Bureau is unable to comment on these in any way whatsoever.

DTP:jba
(3) See note and enclosures on next page

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 8
APR 2 - 1964
COMM-FBI

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
APR 7 3 19 PM '64

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Mr. Robert P. Crosby

Enclosed is some literature which I hope will be of interest. Perhaps you may wish to read my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." These were written in order to help Americans gain an insight into the strategy and tactics of communism, both in this country and abroad. These books may be available in your local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (5)

Counterintelligence Activities
The U.S. Businessman Faces the Soviet Spy
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
4-17-62 Internal Security Statement
4-1-61 LEB Introduction

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

BOARD OF EDUCATION ○ THE METHODIST CHURCH

DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

LEON M. ADKINS, *General Secretary*

SECTION OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT
M. EARL CUNNINGHAM, *Executive Secretary*

ROBERT P. CROSBY
CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OUTDOORS:
RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

POST OFFICE BOX 871
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

March 25, 1964

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Justice Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In an article in The Nashville Tennessean on Friday, March 6, 1964, W. Cleon Skousen was quoted as follows:

> "The United States is now in greater danger than ever from internal Communism, according to J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I."

Is this an accurate representation of your point of view?

Thank you kindly for considering this letter.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Crosby

Robert P. Crosby

RPC:ems

94-47468-75

16 MAR 31 1964

REC-52

EX-103

CORRESPONDENCE

ack DTP: jha 4-2-64

REC 5 94-47468-76

May 5, 1964

Mr. J. Delbert Wells
Manager
Family Program Division
Michigan Farm Bureau
Post Office Box 960
Lansing, Michigan 48904

Ex-103

MAY 5 10 55 AM '64
RECD-READING ROOM
F B I

Dear Mr. Wells:

Mr. Hoover received your letter of April 28th, with enclosure, and asked me to thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing.

While he would like to be of assistance, in view of the large number of similar requests for this literature, he has found it necessary to decline as a matter of policy. In addition, he does not know whether this material is available from the organizations which originally published his articles, but suggests you may wish to correspond with them for the copies you need. Mr. Hoover regrets he is unable to be of assistance in this instance but trusts you will understand.

Sincerely yours,

MAILED 20
MAY 5 - 1964
COMM-FBI

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing derogatory concerning correspondent and no prior correspondence with him. In view of the fact that Cleon Skousen is to lecture at the conference, it is felt that we should not honor this request for our material.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

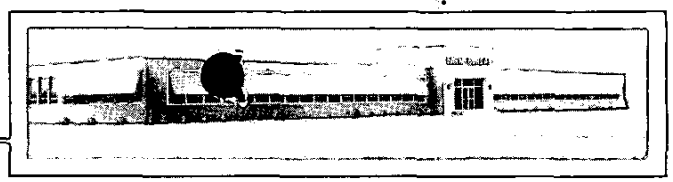
DFC:pjf
(3)

53 MAY 14 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MICHIGAN FARM BUREAU

MAIN OFFICE: 4000 NORTH GRAND RIVER AVENUE
TELEPHONE IVANHOE 7-5911 • P.O. BOX 960 • LANSING, MICHIGAN 48904



April 28, 1964

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Attention: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Office of Director

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Michigan Farm Bureau is planning a week long Citizenship Conference for High School students, this year as per the enclosed agenda.

Our second day will be given to a discussion of Communism, led by Mr. Cleon Skousen.

Recently I have been gathering some "take home material" for these students and have come across five speeches by J. Edgar Hoover that I would like to secure. I would appreciate knowing whether these are available through your office. If not - what are the addresses of the publications that might have these for distribution.

The speeches are:

1. Young People Can Help Fight Communism (Jr.Review)
2. An Army of Free Men (The Lamp)
3. Shall it be Law or Tyranny (American Bar Association)
4. Let's Fight Communism Sanely (Christian Herald)
5. Storming the Skies - Christianity Encounters Communism (Christianity Today)

Our conference will consist of two High School juniors or seniors from each county in Michigan, who will be sponsored to the conference by the County Farm Bureau or by some business firm. We will have 150 students.

It is our plan to show basically four major ideas within the four days. (1) We want to show American ideals and principles, (2) We want to show the philsophy of Communism and how it challenges these American ideals and concepts, (3) We want to show how private capitalism is only compatible with a system where men have freedom and (4) We want to show the necessity of a strong two party political system in maintaining these rights and privileges.

Our organization has put Master of Deceit and The Naked Communist in many of the Michigan schools (libraries) but we believe that this conference will be real booster for American ideals.

94-47468 EX-103 REC 5 94-47468-76

If possible, please advise soon as possible regarding the available reprints of this material either through your office or elsewhere. I will need 150-200 copies of each but must know the cost before ordering if there is a cost to it. Thanks.

Sincerely,

J. Delbert Wells

J. Delbert Wells, Manager
Family Program Division

ENCLOSURE

JDW:gf

CORRESPONDENCE

C4

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CITIZENSHIP SEMINAR
July 13-17, 1964
CAMP KETT

MONDAY - JULY 13

1:00 - 5:00	Registration & Assignment to Quarters
5:00	Dinner with Sponsors & Parents
6:30	Welcome - Walter W. Wightman, President of Michigan Farm Bureau
	Orientation - Lester Bollwahn, Director of F.B.Y.P.Activities
	Talk - UNDERSTANDING & PRESERVING OUR HERITAGE - Dr.Clifton Ganus, Vice-Pres. of Harding College
	Film - THE FALL OF NATIONS
	Mixer - "Let's Get Acquainted"
10:00	Meet with Counselors in Living Quarters
11:00	Lights Out

TUESDAY - JULY 14
(AMERICANISM)

6:30	Morning Call
7:00	Breakfast
8:00	Talk - WHAT THEN IS THIS NEW MAN - Dr. Clifton Ganus
9:00	Filmstrip - 10 NATIONS & THE U.S.A. - National Education Program Film
9:40	Break
10:00	Discussion Period
11:00	Flannel Board Presentation - THIS IS OUR PROBLEM
12:00	Lunch
1:00	Talk - THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM - Dr. Clifton Ganus
2:00	Filmstrip - THE TRUE REVOLUTION - Knott's Berry Farm
2:30	Break
2:50	Talk - PYRAMIDS OF FREEDOM - Dr. Clifton Ganus
	Discussion
4:00	Adjourn for Swim - Recreation
6:00	Dinner
7:00	Film - DUST OR DESTINY - Moody Institute of Science
	Discussion
	Recreation - (Planned)
10:45	Call to Quarters
11:00	Lights Out

WEDNESDAY - JULY 15
(COMMUNISM)

6:30	Morning Call
7:00	Breakfast
8:00	Lecture No.I - W. Cleon Skousen
9:00	Film - COMMUNISM IN ACTION, PART I - National Education Program Film
9:30	Break
10:00	Lecture No.II - W. Cleon Skousen
11:00	Discussion Period
12:00	Lunch
1:00	Flannel Board Presentation - COMMUNISM'S INVISIBLE WEAPON--BRAINWASHING
2:00	Film - COMMUNISM IN ACTION, Part II
2:30	Break
3:00	Discussion Period
4:00	Let's Swim 'til Suppertime
6:00	Dinner
7:00	Lecture No.III - W. Cleon Skousen
9:00	Recreation
10:45	Call to Quarters
11:00	Lights Out

94-47468-76
ENCLOSURE

THURSDAY - JULY 16
(CAPITALISM)

6:30	Morning Call
7:00	Breakfast
8:00	Film - MAKE MINE FREEDOM - National Education Program
8:15	Talk - WHAT DO WE EXPECT OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM - George Dike, Director Marketing, Town & Country Business Program, M.S.U.
9:15	Film - THE ROLE OF THE MARKET - National Association of Manufacturers
10:00	Break
10:20	Talk - HOW OUR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM OPERATES - Ramon Dixon, Field Representative, N.A.M.
	Discussion
12:00	Lunch
1:00	Talk - WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES TO OUR PRIVATE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM? Dr. Lewis Lloyd, Economist - Dow Chemical Company
	Discussion
2:30	Break
2:45	Filmstrip - CHALLENGE TO CITIZENSHIP - National Education Program
3:00	Talk - POLITICS IN AMERICA - WHAT - WHY - WHO? - D. Hale Brake, Exec. Secy Michigan State Association of Supervisors
4:00	Let's Swim
6:00	Supper
7:00	Talk - WHAT WE SHOULD LEARN FROM CUBA - J. Perez Sabido, Professor Lansing Community College
	Recreation
10:45	Call to Quarters
11:00	Lights Out

FRIDAY - JULY 17

6:30	Morning Call
7:00	Breakfast
8:00	RE-EARNING FREEDOM THROUGH POLITICAL ACTION - J. Delbert Wells Michigan Farm Bureau
9:00	REPORT FROM KANSAS TRIPPERS
10:00	Break
10:20	Group Sessions
	Discussion on Ideas
12:00	Lunch
1:00	Closing Remarks - YOU ARE ONLY ONE - BUT YOU ARE ONE Mrs. Marge Karker, Michigan Farm Bureau
	Let's Go Home

(There may be a few minor changes - but basically this is it)

REC 37 94-47468-77

September 3, 1964

S1-104

Mr. David Black
Route 1, Box 61
Clyde, Texas

Dear Mr. Black:

Your letter of August 29th has been received and I am always glad to hear from those citizens who are interested in combating the menace of communism.

With respect to your inquiry, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I regret I am unable to be of help in this instance but trust you will understand the necessary reasons for this policy. It is hoped you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the John Birch Society.

In response to your request, enclosed is some literature which includes suggestions all of us can use in fighting the evil of communism. Perhaps you may also wish to read my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." These were written in order to help Americans gain an insight into the strategy and tactics of communists, both in this country and abroad. Copies may be available in your local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

SEP 3 1964 FBI RECORDING ROOM

MAILED 6
SEP 3 - 1964
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

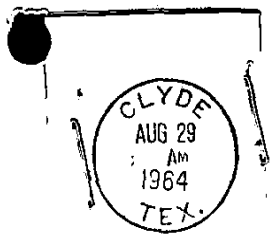
Enclosures (5)
Communism--The Incredible Swindle
Counterintelligence Activities
"Faith in Freedom"
4/1/61 LEB Introduction
4/17/62 Internal Security Statement
NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DTP:dll (3)

96 SEP 15

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY



Route One Box 61
Clyde Texas
August 21, 1964

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

During the week of August 10-14 I attented a Citizenship Seminar sponsered by the Texas Farm Bureau. During this meeting we heard lectures and saw films on the American Government and the threat of Communism. W. Cleon Skousen, who was one of the speakers, told us we could get some information from you on Communism. Also if you have any information on the John Birch Society, I would like to have it.

Upon returning home I have been asked to speak to different groups on Communism and what I learned at the seminar. Any information you would send me I would appreciate very much.

Sincerely yours,
David Black

REC 37 94-47468-77

1 SEP 4 1964

ITC 9/1/64 fd

ack 9-3-64

Route One Box 61
Clyde Texas
August 21, 1964

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

During the week of August 10-14 I attented a Citizenship Seminar sponsered by the Texas Farm Bureau. During this meeting we heard lectures and saw films on the American Government and the threat of Communism. W. Cleon Skousen, who was one of the speakers, told us we could get some information from you on Communism. Also if you have any information on the John Birch Society, I would like to have it.

Upon returning home I have been asked to speak to different groups on Communism and what I learned at the seminar. Any information you would send me I would appreciate very much.

Sincerly yours,
David Black

ITC 9/1/64 fd

ack 9-3-64
mnl
OTP: dll

CORRESPONDENCE

p3

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Skousen To Talk On Communism

W. Cleon Skousen, author of the best-seller book "The Naked Communist" and former FBI official and police chief will speak at the Lewiston High School Auditorium Monday at 7:30 p. m. on the threat and program of current Communism, as it applies to us.

He will tell "why the contradictions between Communism and Religion are inreconcilable and what the churches must do about their mortal enemy."

Speaking on "Retreat Means Defeat', Skousen will give unpublished side-lights and behind-the-scenes information accumulated by a professional investigator.

Entering the FBI in 1935, Skousen served as a special agent and later at FBI headquarters as an administrator. He became a member of Brigham Young University faculty in 1951 and in 1956-60 served as Chief of Police and reorganized the Salt Lake City Police Department.

A director of the American Security Council, he is also editorial director of Law and Order, a national police magazine, and author of a recent book, So You Want To Raise a Boy?

94-47468-A
NOT RECORDED
46 MAY 13 1964

PERS. REC. UNIT

CLARKSTON HERALD
Clarkston, Washington
April 30, 1964
Page 1

March 12, 1965

MCT-24

62-47465-78

REC-41

Mrs. Hardin Hodne
Strandquist, Minnesota

Dear Mrs. Hodne:

Your letter of March 8th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 21, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures and his opinions and comments are strictly his own and the FBI is not in a position to comment on these in any way whatsoever.

Enclosed is some literature which I trust will be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

MAILED 3

Enclosures (4)
Our Heritage of Greatness
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
4-1-61 LEB Introduction
4-17-62 Internal Security Statement

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DTP:djg
(3)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

58 MAR 23 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAR 12 11 22 AM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

TRUE COPY

Strandquist Minn
Mar 8, 1965

J. Edgar Hoover
Washington D. C.

10-
cg

Dear Sir:

I am a conservative and many of my friends regard me as a radical for the simple reason that I am trying to make them see, how the communists have infiltrated our government and churches. So in order to get them to believe I must have proof of everything I say or hear.

Mr. Cleone Skousen who formerly belonged to the FBI. just recently spoke in our community. He said there were quite a number of pastors that were either communists or communist sympathizers in the United States.

On TV a few weeks ago a Lutheran pastor was finding fault with Skousen and said "If this was true why did he not name them?"

I told an acquaintance of mine that I would get proof from the FBI. that Cleone Skousen was a reliable man and Salt Lake City, Utah also get the names of pastors that either were communists or communist sympathizers. There were quite a number of pastors. I do not know the exact number he said but it was either 3,000 or 4,000.

Could you please furnish me with this information as I need proof in order to make my friends and acquaintances believe that what Mr. Cleone Skousen of Salt Lake Utah says is the truth and that the FBI is behind him.

Thank you.

yours truly

8 OTP

Mrs. Hardin Hodne
Strandquist Minn.

mmd
TC-3-11-65
ack 3-12-65
DTP:dfm

Strandquist Minn
Mar 8, 1965

J. Edgar Hoover
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am a conservative and many of my friends regard me as a radical for the simple reason that I am trying to make them see, how the Communists have infiltrated our government and Churches. So in order to get them to believe I must have proof of everything I say or hear.

Mr. Cleve Skousen who formerly belonged

to the F.B.I. just recently spoke in our community. He said there were quite a number of pastors that were either Communists or Communist sympathizers in the United States.

On TV a few weeks ago a Lutheran pastor was finding fault with Skousen and said if this was true why did he not name them?

I told an acquaintance of mine that I would get proof from the F.B.I. that Cleon Skousen Salt Lake City, Utah was a reliable man and also get the names of pastors that

either were communists
or Communist sympathizers.
There were quite a number
of pastors. I do not know
the exact number he
said but it was either
3,000 or 4,000.

Could you please
furnish me with this
information as I need
proof in order to make
my friends and acquaintances
believe that what Mr. Cleon
Skousen of Salt Lake Utah
says is the truth and that
the F B I is behind him.

Thank you.

Yours truly
Mrs. Hardin Hodne
Standpoint mont.

March 16, 1965

REC-131 94-47468-79

EX-111

Mrs. Doris Darnell
Darnell Accounting Service
111 North Huntington Street
Syracuse, Indiana 46567

MAR 16 4 01 PM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Dear Mrs. Darnell:

Your letter of March 10th has been received.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a Clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Inasmuch as his present activities are personal ventures of his own, I am unable to comment on them or any statements he may have made.

You may feel free to utilize the above information in the manner which you described.

MAILED 19
MAR 17 1965
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent.

WAM:des (3)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MAR 26 1965

DARNELL ACCOUNTING SERVICE

Mimeo-Printing
Telephone Answering
Office Supplies

111 N. Huntington St.
Syracuse, Indiana
Ph. 457-4165

Photo-Copying
Public Steno.
Coins

March 10, 1965

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

I would like to make a request for information concerning a W. Cleon Skousen, who published some kind of book about Communism, the book being published by the Ensign Publishing Co., Salt Lake City, Utah.

The following are my reasons for this request, and my position so that you may determine just what information you will give me and under what circumstances:

I live in a very small community, and besides my tax accounting business, I also serve as a correspondent for the South Bend Tribune for this community alone. Last night, I attended a School Board Meeting. Mr. Immel, the School Supt. told us of a request from this man, but asked the press not to publish what he would tell us until such a time that further information could be gathered. I have honored his request, but am not too sure what the other two papers will do.

He said that this man had asked that he announce there would be adult meetings on "Instructions about Communism", meetings which would alert the public as to the methods, etc. Before getting the permission, he telephoned several people (Mr. Skousen) saying that the permission was "imminent in forthcoming". Naturally, Mr. Immel thought him presumptious, and told him so. The man said that he had been a Secret Agent for the U.S. and had been behind the Iron Curtain. He now, supposedly, works for some company which furnishes supplies for the school system here.

REC-131 94-47468-79

I believe in going straight to the source for any information, and so I am appealing to you for the answer to these questions:

1. Is he a registered Communist?
2. Has he ever been a member of the Communist party?
3. Has he ever been a Secret Agent?
4. Has he ever worked in any capacity for the U.S.?

MAR 18 1965

If the answers to these questions are answered, please instruct me as to the dispensation of same (should the information be published?)

Thank you for your time.
Very truly yours,

Doris Darnell

Mrs. Doris Darnell

DARNELL ACCOUNTING SERVICE
111 NORTH HUNTINGTON STREET
SYRACUSE, INDIANA 46567

DELETED
PERS. REC. UNIT

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6-29-65

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: W. CLEON SKOUSEN
FORMER BUREAU AGENT
SPEECH, JULY 9, 1965,
TWIN BRIDGES MARRIOTT MOTOR HOTEL
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

Attached are two leaflets that were recently distributed together in shopping centers in suburban Virginia. One leaflet is a reprint from the John Birch Society bulletin and the second leaflet indicates that W. Cleon Skousen will speak on "Law and Order" on Friday, July 9th at 8 p.m. at the Twin Bridges Marriott Motor Hotel in Arlington, Virginia.

Skousen is a former Special Agent of the Bureau and his activities are well known to the Bureau. In recent years he has been aligned closely with the extreme right wing and has been very active in speaking on communism.

Skousen's speech, which is scheduled for July 9th, will be held in the same hotel that The American Legion, Department of the District of Columbia will be holding its Annual Convention. July 9th will be the second session of The American Legion Convention; however, Skousen's speech is scheduled for the Commonwealth Room which is located on the floor beneath the auditorium in which the Legion Convention will be in session.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-113 94-47461-80

For information.

JUL 1 1965

Enclosures
1 - Mr. DeLoach

TBC:jks (4)

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

XEROX
JUL 13 1965

CRIME RECORDS BRANCH

PERS. REC. UNIT

56 JUL 15 1965



AMERICAN OPINION EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

presents:

W. CLEON SKOUSEN

lecturer ☆

author ☆

former FBI official ☆

— speaking on —

"LAW AND ORDER"

Commonwealth Room — Twin Bridges Marriott Motel
(14th St. - US 1)

Friday, July 9
8:00 p.m.

Donation $2.00
Students $1.00

For tickets, call **TE 6-4446**
SO 5-3741
FL 6-5190

Among Mr. Skousen's many endeavors, past and present, are these —

Former special agent, FBI ☆ Member of faculty, Brigham Young University ☆ Reorganization of Police Department, later Police Chief of Salt Lake City ☆ Field director, American Security Council ☆ Editorial director, police magazine, **Law and Order** ☆ Author, THE NAKED COMMUNIST, which deals with the whole Communist conspiracy; his latest, SO YOU WANT TO RAISE A BOY?, concerns youth problems.

— The Public is Invited —

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Candy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: May 11, 1965

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN KEN W. DYAL
(D. - CALIFORNIA)

Congressman Dyal was contacted on 5-5-65 by SA David W. Bowers in connection with our program to call on newly elected members of Congress. The Congressman, whose brother Komer is a graduate of the FBI National Academy and currently is serving as Chief Inspector of the San Bernardino, California, Sheriff's Office, was very friendly. He exhibited and expressed a high regard and respect for the FBI and the Director.

During the conversation with the Congressman, he stated he represents San Bernardino County in California which he classed as about the third worst county in the Nation from the standpoint of "kooks" of the far right. He said San Bernardino, Orange, Riverside and San Diego Counties, all located in Southern California, contain large numbers of fanatical adherents to extreme right and paramilitary organizations. The Congressman related that recently Reed Benson, son of former Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson, has been extremely active for the John Birch Society in this territory. He said Benson recently had made the statement that the Birch Society plans to spend millions of dollars in certain counties in California in an effort to gain control of them.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Congressman Dyal related that Mrs. Rita Miller, sister of former Special Agent Cleon Skousen, is one of Benson's closest and most vocal supporters. He stated Mrs. Miller, who he understands was employed by the FBI in a clerical capacity for a short time, implies in her speeches that she gained vast knowledge of communist activities during her FBI employment. Congressman Dyal said she is an accomplished speaker and a master of emotionally exciting individuals. The Congressman stated Skousen also is a staunch supporter of Benson and the Birch Society and both he and his sister have very large followings in San Bernardino County, which is their home.

Congressman Dyal stated his purpose in mentioning this information was to be sure the FBI is alert to the "dangerous" activities of these individuals and others like them. He stated he feels we are aware of the situation, since he knows our Agents in the area are in close contact with local authorities who have very good knowledge of the activities of the far right element. The Congressman was thanked for the information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
DWB:kjo (7)

94-47468
NOT RECORDED
102 MAY 19 1965

7 0 MAY 26 1965

(CONTINUED - OVER)

TO MAY 18 1965

CRIME RECORDS

M. A. Jones to DeLoach
RE: CONGRESSMAN KEN W. DYAL

Rita Skousen, now Mrs. Rita Miller, was employed at Bureau Headquarters from 9-5-39 to 6-17-40 as a junior clerk typist. Former Agent W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty 6-17-40 and resigned 10-5-51.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107-4

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 9/3/65

FROM : SAC, DETROIT

SUBJECT: CLEON SKOUSEN
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

By letter dated August 30, 1965, Miss BETTY WOLFE, 120 Warriner Avenue, Litchfield, Michigan, advised that she had recently attended a citizenship seminar at Camp Kett near Cadillac, Michigan, and one of the main speakers was CLEON SKOUSEN, described by her as a former FBI agent. She stated in his lectures he used some Communist propaganda to prove fallacies in their ideas and writings. Miss WOLFE stated she liked Mr. SKOUSEN's talk and when asking him where to send for material, he told her to write the Russian Embassy in Washington and have them put her name on their mailing list. She said she had written the Russian Embassy and had also included the name of her government teacher, a Mr. JACK FELLER, who is concerned about the Communist threat.

Miss WOLFE's letter has been separately acknowledged and Washington Field has been separately advised of the fact BETTY WOLFE had written the Russian Embassy.

The above information is furnished the Bureau in the event the Bureau wishes to make it a matter of record in SKOUSEN's file.

2 - Bureau
1 - Detroit
IRA:sal
(3)

REC-9 94-47468-81

EX 105 25 SEP 7 1965

SOVIET SECTION

7 SEP 16 1965

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

PERS. REC. UNIT

November 10, 1965

REC- 47 94 - 47468 82

Mr. Douglas White
14632 South Division Street
Posen, Illinois

Dear Mr. White:

Your postal card of November 4th has been received.

In response to your request, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1936, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
NOV 10 1965
COMM-FBI

NOTE: There is no identifiable information in Bufiles concerning correspondent.

KLS:rcp
(3)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

53 NOV 19 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

11/4/65
Posen, Ill

Dear Sir:

Recently I heard a gentleman by the name of Cleon Skousen speaking on the communist conspiracy. I found him to be well informed and a pleasant speaker. Can you please furnish me with a little background on him in view of the fact he was once employed as an agent? Thank you

/s/ Mr. D. White

1 TC/rcp/11/19/65

Address per postal card:
Douglas White
14632 S. Division St.
Posen, Illinois

REC- 47 94-47460

11 NOV 15 1965

EX-104

PERS. REC. UNIT

5,

11/4/65

Dear Sir:

Posen, Ill

Recently I heard a gentleman by the name of Clean Skousen speaking on the communist conspiracy. I found him to be well informed and a pleasant speaker. Can you please furnish me with a little background on him in view of the fact he was once employed as an agent? Thank you

Mrs. D White

mrl
1 TC/mp/11/11/65
Ack 11/10/65
KLS/mp

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
10-107-02

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/12/66

FROM : SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-0)

SUBJECT: W. CLEON SKOUSEN
IS-C

On 8/10/66, the Texas Farm Bureau held a citizenship seminar at Baylor University, Waco, Texas, at which seminar speeches were made by Dr. CLIFFORD GANUS, President, Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas, and by W. CLEON SKOUSEN, identified as former Bureau Agent, author and lecturer. Newspaper accounts of the seminar indicated GANUS' subject was "Understanding and preserving our heritage" and SKOUSEN spoke on "History, strategy and tactics of the Communist Party." It was reported that approximately 350 high school students from sthroughout Texas attended this seminar which was to conclude on 8/12/66. The stated purpose of this seminar was to teach students the value of Americanism and to give them an understanding into Communist tactics.

The Dean of Students at Baylor University informed that approximately 100 copies of SKOUSEN's book "The Naked Communist" published by the Ensign Publishing Company of Salt Lake City, Utah, had been ordered by the Texas Farm Bureau for use and distribution in connection with this seminar.

The above is being furnished to the Bureau for its information.

REC. 48 EX 110 94-41468-83

2-Bureau
1-SA
WHB:csh
(3)

AUG 16 1966

SUB CONTROL

AUG 31 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1 - Mr. N.P. Callahan
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
1 - Mr. R.S. Garner

October 24, 1966

1 - Miss Butler

SAC, Salt Lake City

Director, FBI (62-46855)

PURCHASE OF BOOK
BOOK REVIEWS

You are requested to obtain discreetly one copy of the book Communist Attack on U. S. Police by W. Cleon Skousen, a former Bureau Agent. The book was published in 1966 (price not known) by the Ensign Publishing Company whose latest address, according to Bureau Records, was given as 5867 Tolcate Lane, Salt Lake City, Utah. The book should be forwarded to the Bureau marked to the attention of the Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

1 - 67-69602 (W. Cleon Skousen)
1 - M. F. Row (6221 I. B.)

AMB:jmk
(10)

NOTE: Book ordered at request of Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, Domestic Intelligence Division, for review. After review, the book will be placed in the Bureau Library where it is not now available.

62-116853

MAILED 6
OCT 24 1966
COMM-FBI

REC-69 94-47468 84

EX-104

19 OCT 24 1966

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

53 NOV 2 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NW 68018 DocId:32989884 Page 1

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855) DATE: 11/3/66

FROM : SAC, SALT LAKE CITY (80-225)

SUBJECT: PURCHASE OF BOOK
BOOK REVIEWS

"The Communist Attack
On U.S. Police", by
W. CLEON SKOUSEN AUTHOR OF SUBJ BOOK

ReBulet 10/24/66, requesting that captioned book be discreetly purchased.

Transmitted herewith is one copy of captioned book. It is noted it was published by The Ensign Publishing Company, P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City, Utah, and was copyrighted by SKOUSEN in 1966.

The publisher is not listed in the Salt Lake City telephone directory or City Directory.

An attempt was made to locate this book through the normal book outlets in Salt Lake City but it was not found to be available, nor was its existence known. It was finally purchased under pretext from the American Opinion Book Store, 60 East 2nd South, Salt Lake City, Utah, which is the outlet for John Birch literature. Insofar as could be determined, this book was not elsewhere available in Salt Lake City.

ENCLOSURE Encl. filed in Bu. Library Am.B.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)(REG. AM)
1 - Salt Lake City

WRP:mhe
(3)

Please ic in 67-69602 (Skousen) Am.B.

REC 46 94-47468-85

10 NOV 8 1966

RESEARCH-SATELLITE

PERS. REC. UNIT

F304

7 NOV 25 1966

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-46855-1

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-106

12/9/66

AIRTEL

~~1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan~~
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Garner
1 - Miss. Butler

To: SAC, Boston (62-0)

From: Director, FBI

REC-82 94-47468-84

"COMMUNIST ATTACK ON U. S. POLICE"
BOOK BY CLEON SKOUSEN
POLICE COOPERATION

Reurlet 12/5/66.

Captioned book published 1966, by Ensign Publishing Company, P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City, Utah, $1 copy. Copies available through outlets for John Birch Society literature.

AMB:jes:cda
(7)

NOTE:
SAC, Boston, asks assistance of Bureau re availability of book as matter of cooperation with Boston, Mass., P.D.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 19
DEC 9 1966
COMM-FBI

DEC 20 1966

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
(Attn: Central Research Section)

DATE: 12/5/66

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (62-0)

SUBJECT: "COMMUNIST ATTACK ON U. S. POLICE"
BOOK BY CLEON SKOUSEN
POLICE COOPERATION

On 12/2/66, Deputy EDWARD BLAKE, Intelligence Division, Boston, Massachusetts Police Department, advised he is attempting to obtain captioned book. Deputy BLAKE asked if it is possible for this office to help him locate a copy.

If Central Research is aware of this publication it would be appreciated if Boston could be advised how or where to obtain a copy.

JFN:lc
(3)

Cleon SKOUSEN

94-47468-86

REC-82

DEC 1966

RESEARCH SECTION

Ante: ASAC BS
AMB: 12/8/66

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

94-47418-87

August 23, 1968

REC. 19

EX-109

Mr. Daniel Lembark
7833 Sunset Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90046

Dear Mr. Lembark:

In reply to your letter of August 16th, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned on October 5, 1951. He was not a "top aide." His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left this Bureau are strictly his own and it is not possible for me to comment on these in any way whatsoever.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Mr. DeLoach (Detached)
1 - Mr. Bishop (Detached)

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent.

WMG:mlb (5)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MAILED 11
AUG 23 1968
COMM-FBI

61 SEP 5 1968

DANIEL LEMBARK
7833 SUNSET BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90046

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

August 16, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The other evening I had occasion to look at a back issue of the John Birch Society Bulletin and was surprised to read that Mr. W. Cleon Skousen is described in that publication as having been "for many years a top aide to J. Edgar Hoover."

This statement appeared in the January 1, 1968 Birch Society Bulletin on the front page.

Is this description of Mr. Skousen's former position with the Federal Bureau of Investigation accurate? I do not recall Mr. Skousen ever being described as a former "top aide" to you.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

DANIEL LEMBARK

ack
WMG/mrb
8-21-68

Malmfeldt to Bishop 8-22-68
WMG:mrb

EX-PROC
AUG 19 1968

EX-109

REC-19 94-47468-87

AUG 29 1968

8-WMG

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 8-22-68

FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt

SUBJECT: W. CLEON SKOUSEN
FORMER SPECIAL AGENT
NOW REPRESENTING HIMSELF AS
FORMER "TOP AIDE" TO THE DIRECTOR

We have received a letter dated August 16th from Mr. Daniel Lembark of Los Angeles, California. He advised in reading a back issue of the John Birch Society bulletin, he was surprised to read that Mr. W. Cleon Skousen is described in that publication as having been "for many years a top aide to J. Edgar Hoover." He wanted to know whether this description is accurate as he does not recall Skousen ever having been described as such. There is no record of Lembark in Bufiles; however, it is known that he is an official with the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk 10-24-35 and was appointed as a Special Agent on 6-17-40. He voluntarily resigned on 10-5-51. He has been making numerous speeches around the country and writing articles in which he describes himself as a former "top aide" to the Director. He did not hold such a position and it is felt we should set the record straight to those inquiring that he was not a "top aide."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Mr. Lembark in reply to his inquiry concerning Skousen's employment.

Enclosure
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (2)
1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosures (2)

WMG:mlb (4)

EX-109

94-[illegible]-88

AUG 29 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

61 SEP 5 1968

4-572 (Rev. 7-18-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
3010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 9-26-67

FROM : N. P. Callahan

(3) Pages H12410-H12418. Congressman Resnick, (D) New York, spoke concerning the Farm Bureau and pointed out that he had made a study of the activities of this organization. He stated Nothing I have learned has disturbed me more than the Farm Bureau's active role in the political indoctrination of our rural youth, and its unholy alliance with spokesmen of the radical right wing in the United States." Mr. Resnick commented on the youth conferences sponsored by the Farm Bureau and sets forth information on the persons selected as lecturers for these conferences. He stated "The only people selected more carefully than the students are the lecturers. They consist of the most active and best-known spokesmen for the far right in the United States."

One of the persons listed as a lecturer was W. Cleon Skousen. Mr. Resnick stated Skousen claims to give about 300 speeches per year, many to Farm Bureau groups. In addition, he often lectures for Fred Schwarz' Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Project Alert, and other well-known forums of the far right. A former FBI agent for 16 years, Skousen was fired as chief of police of Salt Lake City by Mayor J. Bracken Lee, former Governor of Utah. Mayor Lee, himself an endorser of the John Birch Society - - - - and this to say about Skousen: "That man is an incipient Hitler. Both his motives and his means are open to question. He ran the police department in Salt Lake City in exactly the same manner as the Communists in Russia operate their government. He is a master of half-truths." (W. Cleon Skousen was employed by the Bureau as a messenger on October 24, 1935, and was appointed an Agent on June 17, 1940. He resigned on October 5, 1951. His services were satisfactory.) Mr. Resnick concluded "It is essential that every American be made aware of what the Farm Bureau is doing under the false banners of 'citizenship and freedom,' words it has corrupted and endowed with a new and alien meaning."

Original filed in: 66-1731-3156

94-47468-
NOT RECORDED
133 OCT 5 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 9-25-67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

55 OCT 12 1967

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/28/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Miss Butler
1 - Mr. R.C. Putnam
1 - Mr. Wick

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Wick
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW
"The Communist Attack On U.S. Police"
by W. CLEON SKOUSEN

SYNOPSIS:

Book is 70-page paperback with a 32-page appendix. Appendix is a reprint of Senate Internal Security Subcommittee publication, "A Communist Plot Against the Free World Police (An Expose of Crowd-Handling Methods)," based on testimony of former official of Central Intelligence Agency, 6/13/61. Book consists of articles written by Skousen for "Law and Order," a publication of which Skousen is Editorial Director. It skillfully creates impression that all demonstrations in the United States are part of the communist plan to discredit local police. Book has six chapters through which author develops his thesis that the communists are attempting to destroy local police through civilian review boards; the civil rights movement by promoting campus riots through misguided ministers and American socialists. The concluding chapter, "The Need of the Hour: Support Your Local Police," urges formation of citizens committees to support local police to rebut propaganda of radicals. Since the author has to depend on public source material, he does commit inaccuracies which will aid those who oppose general theme of book. For example, twice he refers to Michael Laski as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Actually, Laski is head of the pro-Chinese communist splinter group, the Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist, which has less than 20 members. Director is mentioned 16 times in form of quotations from testimony, books, and articles. The FBI is mentioned ten times, almost always in regard to jurisdiction relating to allegations of police brutality. Skousen is former Bureau employee, entered on duty as clerk on 10/24/35, as Agent 6/17/40, who resigned 10/5/51. Bureau has been circumspect in dealings with Skousen because of his efforts to capitalize on his association with Bureau in his anti-communist endeavors.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-46355-1

NOT RECORDED
14 DEC 23 1966

ACTION:

62 JAN 3 1967

For information.

62-46355
1 - 67-Skousen
RCP:dmk (8)

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: BOOK REVIEW
"The Communist Attack on U.S. Police"
By W. CLEON SKOUSEN
62-46355

DETAILS:

Captioned book was purchased at the request of Assistant Director Sullivan and reviewed by the Internal Security Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division.

Review of the Book

This book is a paperback published by the Ensign Publishing Company, Salt Lake City, Utah. It consists of 70 pages with a 32-page appendix. The appendix is a reprint of a booklet issued by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee entitled "A Communist Plot Against the Free World Police (An Expose of Crowd-Handling Methods)." This document concerns testimony of Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, then Inspector General on the staff of the Director, Central Intelligence Agency, before the Subcommittee on 6/13/61. The pamphlet shows the plans of the communists to destroy the effectiveness of the police of the free world based on a booklet seized in Europe. Twenty-four of the 32 pages in the appendix are devoted to diagrams showing how mobs can defeat police countermeasures.

Skousen's book was prepared from a series of articles which appeared in the independent publication, "Law and Order," for which he is Editorial Director. The book is a rehash of public source information that is well-written. The author skillfully creates the impression that all demonstrations in the United States are a part of the communist plan to discredit law enforcement in order to facilitate the taking over of our Government.

In his six-page introduction, the author describes the anatomy of a riot in Bogota, Colombia, in 1948 under the direction of the Communist Party of Colombia. He indicates that the riot against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, California, in 1960, was the "curtain-raiser" for the series of riots subsequently held throughout the United States. He notes that all these demonstrations have been followed by a barrage of propaganda against the police and efforts made to fix the blame for these "carefully concocted" upheavals directly on the heads

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

of local law enforcement. Believing that these activities have had a more serious impact on the Nation than many people realize, the author has prepared this book to alert the American citizen that the communists believe they can win here.

Substance of the Book

The six chapters, through their titles, indicate the points Skousen makes. The first chapter, "The Communist Plan to Paralyze the Police Through Civilian Review Boards," shows the idea for such boards originated with the communists in this country in the 1930's and is part of the communist plan to discredit and immobilize our local police.

The second chapter, "The Communist Plan to Fight the Police Through the Civil Rights Movement," traces the backgrounds of some individuals prominent in the civil rights movement and their associations with communist elements through public source material.

Chapter three, "The Communist Plan to Fight the Police by Promoting College Campus Riots," emphasizes "Gogobierno," the system in Latin America which turns colleges into sanctuaries for rebels. The author shows that it is this system that radicals hope to import into the United States so that college rebels can battle the police and return to the campus to be immune from punishment. He utilizes the 1965 Report of the California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities as the basis for this chapter which directs its attention against the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

Chapter four, "The Communist Plan to Fight the Police Through Misguided Ministers," is the weakest in the book. In order to document his charges of communist influence among the clergy, the author is forced to go back to the 1940's, and this tends to detract from the point he is making.

Chapter five, "The Communist Plan to Fight the Police With American Socialists," adds little luster to the book. In five brief pages, the author attempts to give the philosophy of socialism, its history from its earliest

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

beginnings, show the relationship between communism and socialism and how socialists are being used to facilitate the communist attack on police. The author attempts to cover too much ground and, as a result, he does not create the afterimage desired.

The concluding chapter, "The Need of the Hour: Support Your Local Police," sets out a program of what can be done to aid local law enforcement in the present situation. The author proposes the formation of a "Citizens Committee to Support Your Local Police." He recommends that the committee represent a broad spectrum of the community and avoid domination by any single civic club, church, fraternal or political organization. He also suggests that the committee represent the stratification of the community, be independent but have close liaison with the local police department. It should avoid unrelated controversial issues and be dedicated to developing better community relations between the citizenry and the police. Activities should include a "Police Appreciation Week" and a "Truth Squad" to counteract the propaganda of radicals.

Errors in the Book

Minor errors noted were two cases in which incorrect words were used which destroyed the sense of a sentence. On page 18 the word "concluded" was used when the word "continued" is implied. On page 34, the word "members" was used in place of "numbers."

On pages 13 and 22, the author identifies Michael Laski as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This is incorrect. Laski is the head of the Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist, a pro-Chinese communist splinter group headquartered in Los Angeles, California. The implication is that Laski speaks for the Communist Party, USA, when in reality his group numbers less than 20. This is the result of the author's dependence on newspaper articles, which can afford to be less than accurate. However, it provides a base for criticism of the book for those who oppose its general theme, which is regretable.

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: BOOK REVIEW
"The Communist Attack on U.S. Police"
By W.CLEON SKOUSEN
62-46355

References to the Director and the FBI

The Director is mentioned 16 times and the FBI ten times in this book. Quotations from the Director's testimony, books, and articles, which are accurate, account for the frequent appearances of the Director's name in the book. The Bureau is almost always mentioned with regard to its jurisdiction in matters relating to allegations of police brutality.

Pertinent Information Regarding the Author

The author, W.Cleon Skousen, entered on duty with the Bureau as a clerk, 10/24/35, and as an Agent, 6/17/40. He resigned 10/5/51. The Bureau has observed a policy of being circumspect in dealings with Skousen because of his attempts to capitalize on his association with the FBI in his anticommunist endeavors. Skousen has written several pamphlets and books on communism and has lectured in various areas of the country on the communist menace.

May 28, 1969

REC-31 94-47468-89

Miss Bernetta A. Miller
74 West Bridge Street
New Hope, Pennsylvania 18938

Dear Miss Miller:

I have received your letter of May 23rd, with enclosure.

With regard to your inquiries, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left this Bureau are strictly his own. Further, it is contrary to my long-standing policy to comment on material not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. I am sorry it is not possible for me to furnish the advice you are seeking.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
MAY 28 1969
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

CEE:sae (3)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

55 JUN 12 1969

Phone 215-862-2315

MISS BERNETTA A. MILLER
74 WEST BRIDGE STREET
NEW HOPE, PA. 18938

May 23, 1969

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Attention: The Hon. J. Edgar Hoover

Dear Sirs:

I am enclosing a copy of 45 items entitled " CURRENT COMMUNIST GOALS."

I assume this to be authentic. If it is not authentic, I surely would like to know it and to be informed by the F B I.

I have ordered 100 copies which I intend to distribute among friends and acquaintances. If this is not considered advisable , I would appreciate having the advice of the F B I.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely,
Bernetta A. Miller
Bernetta A. Miller

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

CORRESPONDENCE

REC-31 94-47468-89

3 MAY 29 1969

CURRENT COMMUNIST GOALS

The forty-five "Current Communist Goals" listed below appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 1963. They were taken from THE NAKED COMMUNIST by W. Cleon Skousen, who began his extensive study of Communism during his sixteen year term of service with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These goals were compiled from the reports of Congressional hearings together with available books by ex-Communists.

1. U.S. acceptance of coexistence as the only alternative to atomic war.
2. U.S. willingness to capitulate in preference to engaging in atomic war.
3. Develop the illusion that total disarmament by the United States would be a demonstration of moral strength.
4. Permit free trade between all nations regardless of Communist affiliation and regardless of whether or not items could be used for war.
5. Extension of long-term loans to Russia and Soviet Satellites.
6. Provide American aid to all nations regardless of Communist domination.
7. Grant recognition of Red China. Admission of Red China to the UN.
8. Set up East and West Germany as separate states in spite of Khrushchev's promise in 1955 to settle the Germany question by free elections under supervision of the UN.
9. Prolong the conferences to ban atomic tests because the US has agreed to suspend tests as long as negotiations are in progress.
10. Allow all Soviet satellites individual representation in the UN.
11. Promote the UN as the only hope for mankind. If its charter is rewritten, demand that it be set up as one-world government with its own independent armed forces. (Some Communist leaders believe the world can be taken over as easily by the UN as by Moscow. Sometimes these two centers compete with each other as they are now doing in the Congo.)
12. Resist any attempt to outlaw the Communist Party.
13. Do away with all loyalty oaths.
14. Continue giving Russia access to the US Patent Office.
15. Capture one or both of the political parties in the United States.
16. Use technical decisions of the courts to weaken basic American institutions by claiming their activities violate civil rights.
17. Get control of the schools. Use them as transmission belts for socialism and current Communist propaganda. Soften the curriculum Get control of teachers' associations. Put the party line in textbooks.
18. Gain control of all student newspapers.
19. Use student riots to foment public protests against programs or organizations which are under Communist attack.
20. Infiltrate the press. Get control of book-review assignments, editorial writing, policy-making positions.
21. Gain control of key positions in radio, TV and motion pictures.
22. Continue discrediting American culture by degrading all forms of artistic expression. An American Communist cell was told to "eliminate all good sculpture from parks and buildings, substitute shapeless, awkward and meaningless forms."
23. Control art critics and directors of art museums. "Our plan is to promote ugliness, repulsive, meaningless art."
24. Eliminate all laws governing obscenity by calling them"censorship" and a violation of free speech and free press.

(over)

94-47468-89

ENCLOSURE

25. Break down cultural standards of morality by promoting pornography and obscenity in books, magazines, motion pictures, radio and TV.
26. Present homo-sexuality, degeneracy and promiscuity as "normal, natural, healthy."
27. Infiltrate the churches and replace revealed religion with "social" religion. Discredit the Bible and emphasize the need for intellectual maturity which does not need a "religious crutch."
28. Eliminate prayer or any phase of religious expression in the schools on the ground that it violates the principle of "separation of church and state."
29. Discredit the American Constitution by calling it inadequate, old-fashioned, out of step with modern needs, a hindrance to cooperation between nations on a world-wide basis.
30. Discredit the American founding fathers. Present them as selfish aristocrates who had no concern for the "common man."
31. Belittle all forms of American culture and discourage the teaching of American history on the ground that it was only a minor part of "the big picture." Give more emphasis to Russian history since the Communists took over.
32. Support any socialist movement to give centralized control over any part of the culture - education, social agencies, welfare programs, mental health clinics, etc.
33. Eliminate all laws or procedures which interfere with the operation of the Communist apparatus.
34. Eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
35. Discredit and eventually dismantle the FBI.
36. Infiltrate and gain control of more unions.
37. Infiltrate and gain control of big business.
38. Transfer some of the powers of arrest from the police to social agencies. Treat all behavioral problems as psychiatric disorders which no one but psychiatrists can understand or treat.
39. Dominate the psychiatric profession and use mental health laws as a means of gaining coercive control over those who oppose Communist goals.
40. Discredit the family as an institution. Encourage promiscuity and easy divorce.
41. Emphasize the need to raise children away from the negative influence of parents. Attribute prejudices, mental blocks and retarding of children to suppressive influence of parents.
42. Create the impression that violence and insurrection are legitimate aspects of the American tradition; that students and special-interest groups should rise up and use "united force" to solve economic, political, or social problems.
43. Overthrow all colonial governments before native populations are ready for self-government.
44. Internationalize the Panama Canal.
45. Repeal the Connally Reservation so the U.S. cannot prevent the World Court from seizing jurisdiction over domestic problems. Give the World Court jurisdiction over nations and individuals alike.

Additional copies available from: TRAIN
Post Office Box 8352
San Marino, California 91108

100 for One Dollar

94-47468-90

REC-21

June 27, 1969

PERS. REC. UNIT

Mrs. Edward Kobrzycki
140 West Alice Avenue
Phoenix, Arizona 85021

Dear Mrs. Kobrzycki:

I received your letter on June 25th and appreciate your kind sentiments as well as your favorable remarks concerning my administration of this Bureau.

With regard to your inquiries, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left this Bureau are strictly his own. Further, it is contrary to my long-standing policy to comment on material not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. I am sorry it is not possible for me to furnish the advice you are seeking.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
JUN 27 1969
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning correspondent. Name verified per Phoenix, Arizona, telephone directory. The '45 "Current Communist Goals" were taken from "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen.

FMG:ram (3)

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

384

55 JUL 24 1969

TRUE COPY

Federal Bureau of Investigation
J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, D C.

Dear Sir;

Enclosed is a copy of "Communist 45 objectives"

Do you agree with all of these points? if not will you indicate the ones with which you do not agree.

Our children are in a Catholic elementary school, we are deeply destressed about some of the things we read in the "word and worship" series of cathecism, do you have any information about this series that would justify our concern?

We are deeply greatful that our country has leadership such as yours - we pray for you and ask God to guide and strengthen you in your work.

Thank you Sir, may God bless you and keep you in his care.

Sincerely

ITC 6-25-69 ndd mml 6-27-69 pm 6 pm

Mrs Edward Kobrzycki
140 W. Alice Ave
Phoenix, Arizona
85021

EXP. PROC.

JUN 25 1969

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Federal Bureau of Investigation
J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir;

Enclosed is a copy of "Communist 45 objectives"

Do you agree with all of these points? If not will you indicate the ones with which you do not agree.

Our Children are in a Catholic elementary school, we are deeply distressed about some of the things we read in the "word and worship" series of Catheism, do you have any information about this series that would justify our concern?

We are deeply grateful that our country has leadership such as yours - we pray for you and ask God to guide and strengthen you in your work.

REC-21 94-47468-90

Thank you Sir, may God bless you and keep you in his care.

Sincerely,

JUN 30 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

Mrs Edward Kalinski
140 W. Alice ave
Phoenix, Arizona

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

PERS. REC. UNIT

146

94-47468-90

ENCLOSURE

94-47468-90

Communist "45" Objective Achieves Maior Success

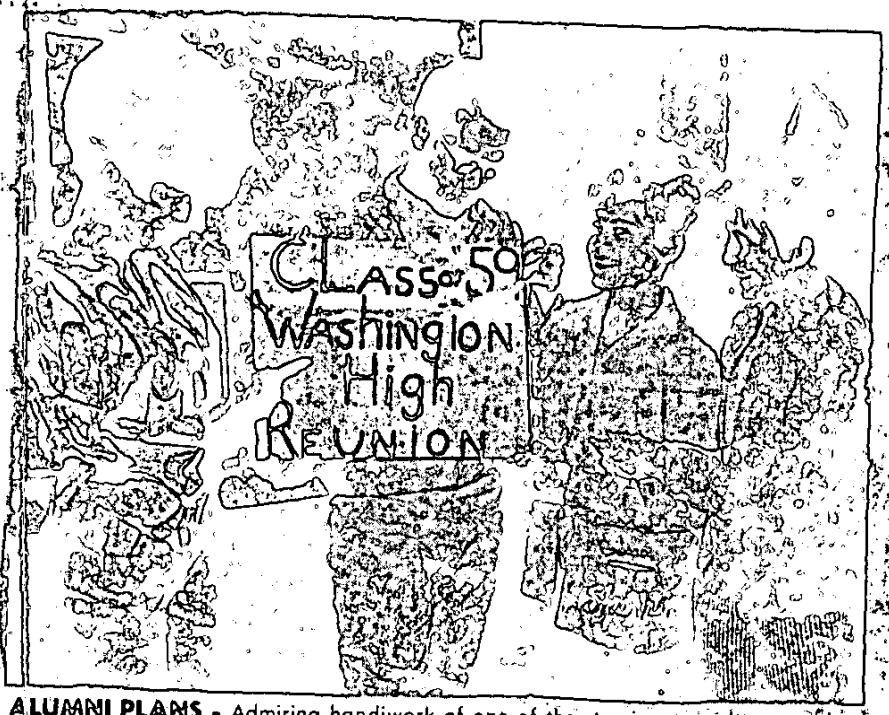
MATICK

The 45 "Current Communist Goals" listed below appeared in the Congressional Record of January 10, 1963. They were taken from The Naked Communist by W. Cleon Skousen, who began his extensive study of Communism during his 16 year term of service with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These goals were compiled from the reports of Congressional hearings together with available books by ex-Communists.

1. U.S. acceptance of coexistence as the only alternative to atomic war.
2. U.S. willingness to capitulate in preference to engaging in atomic war.
3. Develop the illusion that total disarmament by the United States would be a demonstration of moral strength.
4. Permit free trade between all nations regardless of Communist affiliation and regardless of whether or not items could be used for war.
5. Extension of long-term loans to Russia
12. Resist any attempt to outlaw the Communist Party.
13. Do away with all loyalty oaths.
14. Continue giving Russia access to the US Patent Office.
15. Capture one or both of the political parties in the United States.
16. Use technical decisions of the courts to weaken basic American institutions by claiming their activities violate civil rights.
17. Get control of the schools. Use them as transmission belts for socialism and current Communist propaganda. Soften the curriculum. Get control of teachers' associations. Put the party line in textbooks.
18. Gain control of all student newspapers.
19. Use student riots to foment public protests against programs or organizations which are under Communist attack.
20. Infiltrate the press. Get control of book-

and emphasize the need for intellectual maturity which does not need a "religious crutch."

28. Eliminate prayer or any phase of religious expression in the schools on the ground that it violates the principle of "separation of church and state."
29. Discredit the American Constitution by calling it inadequate, old-fashioned, out of step with modern needs, a hindrance to cooperation between nations on a world-wide basis.
30. Discredit the American founding fathers. Present them as selfish aristocrats who had no concern for the "common man."
31. Belittle all forms of American culture and discourage the teaching of American history on the ground that it was only a minor part of "the big picture". Give more emphasis to Russian history since the Communists took over.
32. Support any



ALUMNI PLANS - Admiring handiwork of one of the steering committee members are alumni of Washington High School Class of 1959. Class will be holding ten reunion over memorial day weekend. Any interested alumni should contact Mr Anita Skelley at 939-4524.

Write Mills On Taxes

Readers here are protesting the new federal income tax revision plan as doing nothing for the heavily taxed middle income earner.

The new proposed tax revision as advocated by the Nixon administration asks for tax relief for the poor and higher taxes on the rich. But it provides no relief at

old and in no way reflects what it costs to support a dependent. Most people calling in want the dependency deduction doubled and also are complaining about congressional pay raises.

We suggest that you direct your protests to Rep. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Jr. Women Win Award

The Junior Woman's Club of Phoenix has

The Junior Woman's Club of Phoenix won

and Soviet Satellites.

6. Provide American aid to all nations regardless of Communist domination.
7. Grant recognition of Red China. Admission of Red China to the UN.
8. Set up East and West Germany as separate states in spite of Khrushchev's promise in 1955 to settle the Germany question by free elections under supervision of the UN.
9. Prolong the conferences to ban atomic tests because the US has agreed to suspend tests as long as negotiations are in progress.
10. Allow all Soviet satellites individual representation in the UN.
11. Promote the UN as the only hope for mankind. If its charter is rewritten, demand that it be set up as one-world government with its own independent armed forces. (Some Communist leaders believe the world can be taken over as easily by the UN as by Moscow. Some times these two centers compete with each other as they are now doing in the Congo.)

review assignments, editorial writing, policy - making positions.

21. Gain control of key positions in radio, TV and motion pictures.
22. Continue discrediting American culture by all forms of artistic expression. An American Communist cell was told to "eliminate all good sculpture from parks and buildings, substitute shapeless, awkward and meaningless forms."
23. Control art critics and directors of art museums. "Our plan is to promote ugliness, repulsive, meaningless art."
24. Eliminate all laws governing obscenity by calling them "censorship" and a violation of free speech and free press.
25. Break down cultural standards of morality by promoting pornography and obscenity in books, magazines, motion pictures, radio and TV.
26. Present homosexuality, degeneracy and promiscuity as "normal, natural, healthy."
27. Infiltrate the churches and replace revealed religion with "social" religion. Discredit the Bible

ist movement to give centralized control over any part of the culture - education, social agencies, welfare programs, mental health clinics, etc.

33. Eliminate all laws or procedures which interfere with the operation of the Communist apparatus.
34. Eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
35. Discredit and eventually dismantle the FBI.
36. Infiltrate and gain control of more unions.
37. Infiltrate and gain control of more control of big business.
38. Transfer some of the powers of arrest from the police to social agencies. Treat all behavioral problems as psychiatric disorder which no one but psychiatrists can understand or treat.
39. Dominate the psychiatric profession and use mental health laws as a means of gaining coercive control over those who oppose Communist goals.
40. Discredit the family as an institution. Encourage promiscuity and easy divorce.
41. Emphasize the need to raise children

for the heavily Republican middle class that elected the present administration.

Rep. Sam Steiger (R. Ariz.) refused to comment when asked if he favored any change in dependency deductions. The complaints coming into the American mostly center around the fact that the present $600 deduction is 50 years

away from the negative influence of parents. Attribute prejudices, mental blocks and retarding of children to suppressive influence of parents.

42. Create the impression that violence and insurrection and legitimate aspects of the American tradition; that students and special - interest groups should rise up and use "united force" to solve economic, political or social problems.
43. Overthrow all colonial governments before native populations are ready for self-government.
44. Internationalize the Panama Canal.
45. Repeal the Connally Reservation so the U.S. cannot prevent the World Court from seizing jurisdiction over domestic problems. Give the World Court jurisdiction over nations and individuals alike.

an award of $200 for its work in helping young people further their education.

The third place award was one of three totalling $1,000 made in Arizona through the General Federation of Women's Clubs - Shell Oil Company Education Program. First place and $500 went to Buckeye Senior Woman's Club and the Ash Fork Woman's Club won second place and $300.

its award for its financial aid and volunteer service to the Arizona Pre-School for Retarded Children.

During the year, the club raised $778 for the school, the only facility in the state for the trainable pre-school retarded child, and contributed many hours of volunteer service. One day each week, two club members assisted teachers in the classrooms and in supervising other activites.

WEEKEND WEATHER

PREDICTION

FRIDAY:
Partly cloudy
normal temp.

SATURDAY:
Cloudy
Normal Temp.

SUNDAY:
Clear
Normal Temp.

STICKY WEATHER IS HERE

Currie's is Ready for you.



GAFFERS & SATTLERS

Air Conditioning

- 24 HOUR SERVICE
- NEW UNIT INSTALLATIONS
- SHEET METAL SHOP
- 10 YEARS ACTUAL EXPERIENCE
- LICENSED & BONDED
- FREE ESTIMATES NO OBLIGATION

CURRIE'S
AIR CONDITIONING & HEATING
277-6827 4704 N. 7th AVE

October 27, 1969

REC 44 94-47950-91

EX-103

Mrs. Thomas E. Warth
4241 Mae Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky 40216

Dear Mrs. Warth:

Your letter was received on October 22nd.

With regard to your inquiry, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left this Bureau are strictly his own.

I regret I am unable to be of assistance to you concerning your inquiry about the peace symbol.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 22
OCT 27 1969
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent.

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

CEE:ram (3)

59 NOV 4 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

4241 Ma[illegible] Ave.
Louisville Ky 40216
October 17, 1969

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. W[illegible]ers
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Recently, it has been brought to my attention that the peace symbol, the upside down Y stands for the broken cross, or anti-Christian.

I called a bookstore in Louisville and they had a book with a forward in it by W. Cleon Skousen who is said to be from the F. B. I.

I would very much appreciate any enlightment you can give me as to the symbol and if Mr. Skousen was a F. B. I. employee.

I want to give this shocking information to our local P. T. A. (Nov 11.) of which I am program chairman. I want my facts to be correct so please reply as soon as possible.

The Parent-Teachers Association is to help our community, therefore our country. We try to raise our children to respect our great country and its laws but so much has taken place in every phase of living our whole moral structure has been defaced.

Thank you sir for your time and I do appreciate any help you may give me as to the truths of this.

Sincerely,

Peggy Warth
(Mrs. Thomas E.)

NMC ack 10-27-69 FBI. nam

COPY:hcv

4241 Mac Ave.
Louisville Ky 40216
October 17, 1969

4p

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Recently it has been brought to my attention that the peace symbol, the upside down Y stands for the broken cross, or anti-Christian.

I called a bookstore in Louisville and they had a book with a forward in it by M. Clean Skousen Ft. Clean Skousen who is said to be from the F.B.I.

I would very much appreciate any enlightment you can give me as to the symbol and if Mr. Skousen was a F.B.I. employee.

I want to give this

2)

shocking information to our local P.T.A. (Nov 11) of which I am program chairman. I want my facts to be correct so please reply as soon as possible.

The Parent-Teachers Association is to help our community, therefore our country. We try to raise our children to respect our great country and its laws but so much has taken place in every phase of living our whole moral structure has been defaced.

Thank you sir for your time and I do appreciate any help you may give me as to the truths of this.

Sincerely,
Peggy Warth
(Mrs. Thomas E.)

Mr. T[illegible]
Mr. D[illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. C[illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
[illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
[illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. [illegible]
Tele. [illegible]
Miss [illegible]
Miss Gu[illegible]

94-47468-91

28

OCT 22 1969

FBI
OCT 22 1969

Mrs. Thomas E. Warth
4241 Mae Ave.
Louisville, Ky.
40216

ack 10-27-69
mc

CORRESPONDENCE

THREE

November 18, 1969

REC- 66 [illegible] 47468-92

Mr. Gordon W. Kirby
Staff Writer
Deseret News
Post Office Box 1257
Salt Lake City, Utah 84110

Dear Mr. Kirby:

In reply to your letter of November 11th, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DMW:smj (3)

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 7
NOV 18 1969
COMM-FBI

NOV 25 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

51 NOV 26 1969

DESERET NEWS

34 East First South Street • Post Office Box 1257 • Salt Lake City, Utah 84110 • (801) 524-2800

11 Nov. 1969

FBI

Gentlemen:

I am doing a sketch on W. Cleon Skousen. In a biography on him it states he "entered the FBI im 1935, serving first as a special agent and later in a supervisory position at headquarters". My question is whether or not this is true. Just what did W. Cleon Skousen do in connection with the FBI? Will you please give me a brief rundown on his employment with it.

Sincerely,

GORDON W. KIRBY
Staff writer

COPY RETAINED IN PERSONNEL RECORDS UNIT

EX-102

REC-66 94-47468-92

22 NOV 19 1969

ark/nml
11-18-69
DMW/SM

CORRESPONDENCE

REC-110

94-47468-94

February 5, 1970

Mrs. Roscoe C. Lee
103 South Main Street
Milton-Freewater, Oregon 97862

Dear Mrs. Lee:

I received the letter of January 30th, with enclosures, from you and your family and want to thank you for your kind sentiments and remarks concerning my work. It was indeed thoughtful of you to forward the material to me and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 21
FEB 5 1970
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles contain prior cordial correspondence with Mrs. Lee. Last outgoing, 10-22-69, in response to her comments concerning the Director's possible retirement. The enclosures are an article written by W. Cleon Skousen, a former Special Agent who is well known to the Bureau, a reprint from the "Daily World," a publication of the Communist Party which is well known to the Bureau, and a speech by Ezra Taft Benson, former Secretary of Agriculture. In his article, Skousen states that some organizations, when they are attacked by the communist press, remain silent and hope the thing will blow over, but a more responsive approach such as that followed by J. Edgar Hoover when the FBI is attacked has proven more effective. There is no other mention of the Director or the FBI in the enclosures.

CEE:vdd (3)

Tolson
DeLoach
Walters
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

59 FEB 20 1970

FOR CHRIST — AGAINST COMMUNI

"If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land."—II Chron. 7:14.
Old Testament—Bible



"Behold, this is a choice land, and whatsoever nation shall possess it shall be free from bondage, and from captivity, and from all other nations under heaven, if they will but serve the God of the land, who is Jesus Christ, who hath been manifested by the things which we have written."
Ether 2:12 Book of Mormon

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Milton-Freewater, Oregon
January 30, 1970

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. Hoover:

If you have not seen the enclosures, we hope and pray they may be enlightening and helpful to you. Mr. W. Cleon Skousen, was at one time an FBI man, also Chief of Police of Salt Lake City.

We are still trying to do our bit to keep this a Nation under God. We have two sons in the Armed Forces, as we may have told you in previous correspondence. It is the desire of our hearts that this Nation may remain free and that every man can worship God, according to the dictates of their own conscience. "A Nation who will not serve God will be ruled by Tyrants."

May God continue to bless you with health and strength. We consider you one of this Nation's greatest men and a devoted Servant of our cherished Republic!

Very Sincerely,
Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe C. Lee & Family
Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe C. Lee

REC-110

94-47468-94

FEB 6 1970

3 ENCLOSURE
"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

ack/mail 2/5/70 Cee. Ltd

FEB 18 1970

CORRESPONDENCE

MRS. ROSCOE C. LEE
103 SOUTH MAIN ST.
MILTON-FREEWATER, ORE.
97862

PERSONNEL RECORDS UNIT

FBI - DOJ

3''/

ENCLOSURE 94

GODLESS FORCES THREATEN US

an address by

Elder Ezra Taft Benson

Godless forces threaten us.

My text is from Paul's timely admonition:

> "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." (Ephesians 6:11-12)

A modern day prophet has said, "...when acts and schemes are manifestly contrary to the revealed word of the Lord, we feel justified in warning people against them. We may be charitable and forbearing to the sinner, but must condemn the sin..." (Statements on Communism and the Constitution, by President David O. McKay)

Correspondence and the printed word, crossing my desk daily, proclaim the deep concern and agonizing fear of alert people, especially concerned parents, in my own and other Christian nations--fear for the future of America and the free world--fear we may lose all we hold dear, and soon.

While most Americans continue to enjoy their comfortable complacency the fact remains that the American way of life--with a spiritual foundation--which has given us the highest standard of living and more of the good things of life than any other system, is under powerful attack.

The Godless world-wide Communist Conspiracy expects one day soon to take over the United States. With the active support of some 150 known or suspected Communist fronts and infiltrated groups identified by the F.B.I. (Human Events 9:20-69); with almost half the student bodies of colleges and universities of America reported to have elected presidents who support the revolution; with acts of treason against the United States committed daily throughout the nation and laws on treason and sedition shattered by decisions of the Supreme Court; with riots in 125 cities within five days' time, 2600 buildings burned and 713 of them in the Nation's Capitol; with revolutions interrupting operations of 200 colleges and universities since Christmas; with the Reds ordering the New Left to "close down 100 universities in 1970;" and with the constant aid of leftists, dupes, fellow travelers and complacent citizens, the Conspiracy is now moving into the final stages for a nation-wide "revolutionary take-over." (The National Program Letter, Dr. McBirnie's Newsletter, both October 1969)

One of the most prominent targets now under withering fire in this war against ourselves is the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Constitution of the United States, the institution of private property, and the basic concepts of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Surely this is a time when consideration might well be given by the people of America, and the entire free world, to the important matter of citizenship responsibility, and more importantly, membership in the churches of the free world.

Today we face insidious, devastating evils which are widespread. Aimed especially at the destruction of America--the last great bastion of freedom--with emphasis on our youth, the evils are everywhere--sponsored, promoted and directed by the Communist Conspiracy, fellow travelers and dupes. Never has evil been presented in such an array of appealing forms. We face a most dangerous revolution in America and it is now in progress. According to the FBI, "It is well-planned, well-financed and well-armed." As citizens of the greatest nation of the world, we face a deadly serious crisis. We must do battle with these evil forces on every front, now. Any delay will be disastrous. "We must begin aggression against evil. The time for procrastination and permissiveness is long past."

These atrocious, destructive evils are now revealed in our music, in our art, in sex perversion and so-called sex education in the schools, in destructive sensitivity training--a powerful form of Pavlovian brainwashing--as used by Communists on captured American soldiers in Korea and by Hitler in Nazi Germany.

These evils are prominent in the promotion of drugs--LSD, marijuana and a host of others--in leading magazines and underground publications for youth; in TV, movie and radio programs, in pornographic literature, in morally destructive paperback books available to all on newsstands and in Communist oriented anti-American organizations such as SDS (Students for a Democratic Society).

These devilish forces "led by dirty minds in dirty bodies" seem to be everywhere. They are spreading into every segment of our social, economic and religious life--all aimed at the destruction of one whole generation of our choice youth in preparation for the Communist take-over.

The Godless Communists have declared, "We are going to destroy the moral character of a generation of young Americans, and when we have finished you will have nothing with which to really defend yourself against us."

We may, as adults, close our eyes to them--keep our heads in the sand--hoping they will go away, but these evils are here, close by, working insidiously and destructively day by day, hour by hour, without ceasing. Will parents who have abandoned their responsibilities for the training and guidance of their children awaken and act before it is too late?

We may cry, "Peaceful coexistence" but there is no such thing with the devil and his emissaries. We are at war--not a cold war--but a burning, searing hot war--the most serious war in the memory of man. We must win this war now. Will parents bestir themselves before it is too late? Will our political leaders really awaken to the danger? Will courageous action come before destruction falls? Will we as citizens rally prayerfully and actively to courageous leadership?

The Christian world--the real Christian world--my own Christian country included--knows that there are certain eternal verities--principles that never change. Jesus Christ is in very deed the way, the truth and the light. The Ten Commandments are verily true. They form a permanently binding code of conduct which man cannot violate without drastic damage to both his material and his spiritual welfare. We know that God is not dead--that He is watching us--even though one of the Russian astronauts cracked: "We've been all over 'Heaven' and we didn't see any sign of God."

Yes, Godless forces do threaten our great civilization. These Godless forces are forging a union of state and atheism. I quote in substance from the well-known constitutional lawyer, Dean Clarence E. Manion: (See Manion Forum Broadcast 747, 1-26-69)

Can you name the Three Kings who came out of the East bearing gifts for the Infant Jesus? St. Matthew called them the Three Wise Men of the Year One A. D. A few months ago a national magazine called the Apollo 8 Astronauts the Three Men of the Year 1968. But by whatever name they are called, these six famous men are now forever joined across the centuries by their colorful execution of the same high purpose. All of them followed their stars from the end of their earth to praise and glorify God.

The miracle for St. Matthew's men was the unerring accuracy of the Star of Bethlehem that guided them to their Divine Destination. The wonder of the world for 1968 was the apparent common faith, wisdom, humility and, last but not least, the moral courage of Colonel Borman, Captain Lovell and Major Anders, who, on Christmas Day, at the apex of history's then longest and most perilous voyage, gave praise and thanks to God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and implored His blessing upon all of the three billion listening people of this world.

When all of the facts, figures and findings of the first incredible journey to the moon are finally evaluated and computerized, this unscheduled, unprecedented public act of religious faith and worship will be found, like the name of Abou ben Adhem, to lead all the rest for all the years to come. Without the blessings of the Lord all this would be quite impossible.

Those professed atheists, who have confidently relied upon science to dethrone and eclipse Almighty God,...are already doing their manful best, of course, to rub out all reference to the prayer in their recapitulation and evaluation of Apollo 8. The monitoring Communists in Moscow (after much high-level consultation, you may be sure) decided wisely to ignore it. But some others are unable to restrain their indignation and have probably been back to the U.S. Supreme Court seeking the same kind of prohibition against the public glorification of God in the Heavens that they have so successfully maintained here on earth.

The Justices may or may not welcome this new opportunity to re-enforce their strange new doctrine of neutrality in the weird war that is being fronted against God and religion. Undoubtedly, the Court's ultimate decision will be influenced by what happens to the attitude of the American people in the meantime. For the real question now is this: How much longer will the American people--and the whole Christian world--continue to tolerate the sadistic beating that religion has been taking in this country and elsewhere for the past 25 years?

Frankly recognizing that Godless forces in this country have always been overwhelmingly outnumbered by the faithful, the first working principle of the anti-God strategists has been to move insidiously and always carefully to avoid anything that resembles a direct attack or a frontal confrontation with their opponents.

So, in launching their campaign against God, the attackers proceeded first to ignore Him in the secular press; second, to humanize Him in the churches; third, to clobber Him with ridicule on the campus; and, finally, to induce the courts to enforce official governmental neutrality in all litigated controversies about God and religion.

From a practical standpoint, of course, these decisions establish a union of state and atheism. The accomplishment of this last objective has taken prayer out of the public schools and if and when the judicial conclusion is extended to its logical limits, it will abolish tax exemption for church property, eliminate chaplains from the armed services, remove our motto "in God we trust" from our coins and require major surgery upon our official salute to the flag.

We must realize that the anti-prayer decisions are simply a beguiling climax in the wide ranging campaign against God and religion that has been sustained here in this country, and in many other nations, for more than three decades.

It was boldly begun here in 1933 (November 16), when the United States announced our diplomatic recognition of atheistic Soviet Russia. For 15 years the United States had refused to recognize the Godless Moscow Communists, for the reasons published at length in 1920 by Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of

State in the Administration of President Woodrow Wilson. In concluding his long letter of documentation and explanation Colby had said this: "There cannot be any common ground upon which the Government of the United States can stand with a power whose conceptions are so entirely alien to our own, so utterly repugnant to our moral sense."

This recognition, together with the abandonment of the inspired Monroe Doctrine, gave the Red-atheists a big diplomatic sanctuary for the coordination and direction of their propagandists, spies and saboteurs. These promptly infiltrated every branch of our Federal Government and later, every segment of our economy and more recently have established a Godless base 90 miles from our shores. Our recognition broke the ice of American resistance to the acceptance of the Kremlin gangsters into the International Community as a legitimate government and so strengthened their iron grip upon the tortured people of Russia and her satellites.

Judging by its demoralized works, atheism has now quit advancing in this country simply because it has arrived. Not just rhetorically but actually--our country is in an un-Godly mess. City streets are terrorized by crime; our biggest and most expensive campuses are paralyzed by nihilism and anarchy; with special licenses from the Supreme Court, theaters are boldly featuring sex perversion and the newsstands are loaded with hard-core pornography. Big name investigating commissions have told us all about riots, crime, progress and poverty, but always in materialistic terms of money, housing, social service jobs, and birth control--without a word about the possibilities for personal moral self-restraint.

What about our churches? You have heard the startling story of what Scientific Atheism has done to institutional religion in the United States and elsewhere.

Just look, listen and read and you will find that (so-called) "civil rights" have now eclipsed and outdated all of our personal moral responsibilities. Whoever dares to mention the Ten Commandments today will immediately be treated for a sick hang-up with the "Puritan Ethic."

But if atheism has taken us over, then who and where are the atheists? It was sheer coincidence, of course, that the day after the 1968 astronauts gave us their inspiring prayer from the moon, the Gallup Poll reported that 98% of the American people believe in God. Fantastic? Not at all. How many avowed atheists do you know personally?

Gallup also found that 65% of us believe in Hell and 60% of all Americans believe in the Devil. Now just a word to this big majority who believe in the Devil. Who, in your opinion, has master-minded this tragic transformation of the official, controlling American mind? The Devil? Through Satan's Communist counterfeit to the Gospel? Then why don't we all say so?

Now to the 98% of us who believe in God: Well, the Astronauts did something big about it. Now will you please do a little something about it when you get your next captive audience, however small it is?

Organized Atheism, representing just 2% of our population, has contaminated--is still contaminating--the whole course of American life--of Christian life everywhere. In this country today a 2% tail is wagging the big 98% dog. Never in all history have so many been hornswoggled by so few.

For years we have all been obsessed with the iniquities of the Supreme Court. The way to do something about the Supreme Court is for the 98% of us to become obsessed with the omnipotent goodness of the Supreme Being. What do you suppose would happen in all branches of our Government if the 98% of us would stop complaining and start working and praying?

We Americans have come almost a year with a new national administration in the United States. The world is watching. Perhaps now is the time to return to basic eternal concepts, to praise the Lord while we continue to work hard on the Congress, the President and the Supreme Court.

Other nations might well follow a similar pattern of concern.

As Americans--as members of the world-wide Christian community--we can defeat the Godless, atheistic forces which threaten us. Yes, with the help of Almighty God we can--we must--win the war against the evil forces which seem almost to overwhelm us. The eternal verities revealed from God, through His inspired prophets, have not and will not change.

Let us "put on the whole armour of God that we (ye) may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil." There is no other way of safety.

God is not dead. He lives, for He has appeared--together with His Beloved Son, Jesus the Christ--in our day. This I know, as I know that I live, and bear this humble witness in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.

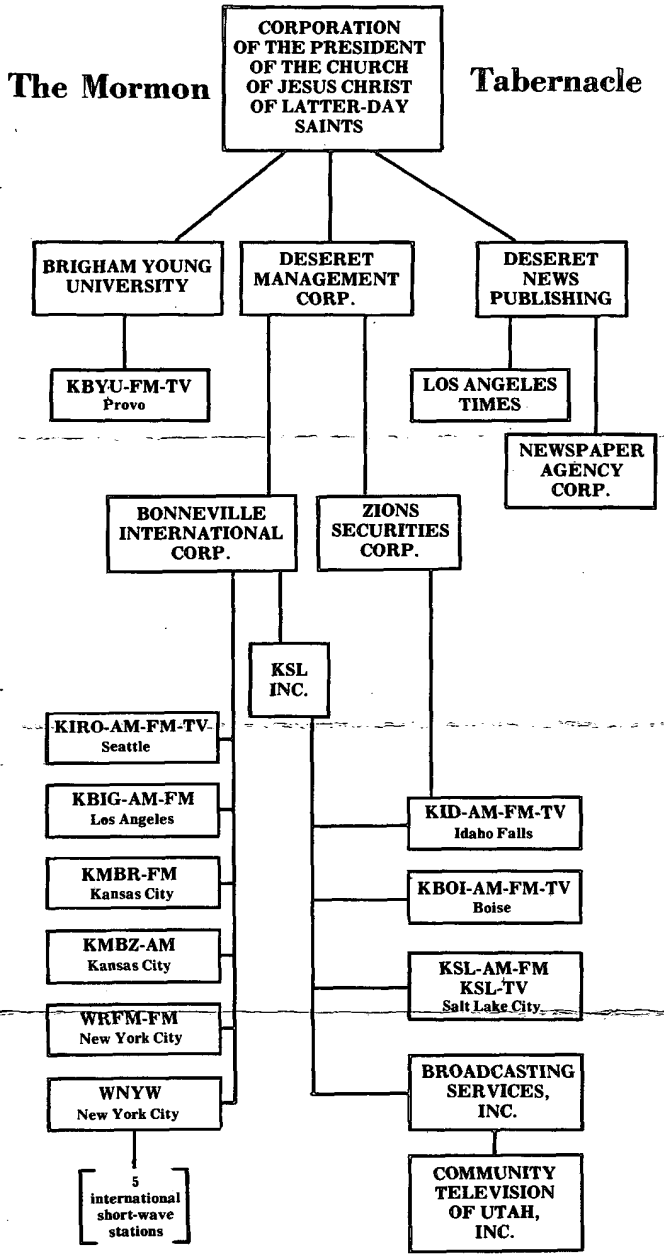
10/4/69

94-47468-94

DAILY WORLD

Including Weekend Magazine

Vol. II, No. 67 | New York, Thursday, October 16, 1969 | Daily except Sun., Mon. and major holidays | 15 CENTS



The leaders of the Mormon Church have not only become involved in the state (as indicated below), but have also used the church coffers to build a financial "tabernacle" that reaches far beyond Salt Lake City. The above chart shows the corporate, educational and media network through which the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints conducts its business and propaganda operations.

WORLD MAGAZINE

Oct. 18, 1969

THE EMPIRE IN SALT LAKE CITY

By PATRICIA BELL

Salt Lake City, Utah

In the Geneva Steel mill, just outside Salt Lake City, Utah, are 3,600 employees, and not one black worker among them. In Utah, the Mormon Church prevails, and its teaching in regard to the Negro is that he is "the posterity of Cain," and is black because Cain killed Abel. The few Negro Mormons are not allowed the privilege of Temple rites when they die, and cannot be elected to church office.

Utah verges on being a Church State, where the economic and political structure is tightly intertwined with the Church establishment. The Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormon) manages a wealthy barony engaged in a number of enterprises.

A venerable church president, David O. McKay, is also president or director of banks, insurance companies, airlines, railroad companies, hotels, department stores, and investment and security corporations and the Utah-Idaho beet sugar company, also the Radio Service Corporation of Utah.

And although about 40,000 Mexican-Americans reside in the area, just three are employed in the whole Geneva mill.

A church law firm, Moyle, Burton and McKay, wrote legislation for the Utah legislature to exempt wholly church-owned businesses from Utah's Fair Employment Law, and the First Presidency of the Church wrote letters in 1965 advising all Mormon senators and congressmen that the Taft-Hartley law should include the Right to Work laws.

It is not surprising then that Utah has traditionally been more than 99 percent white, or that it is today a low wage "right to work" state, 36th in per capita income in 1967.

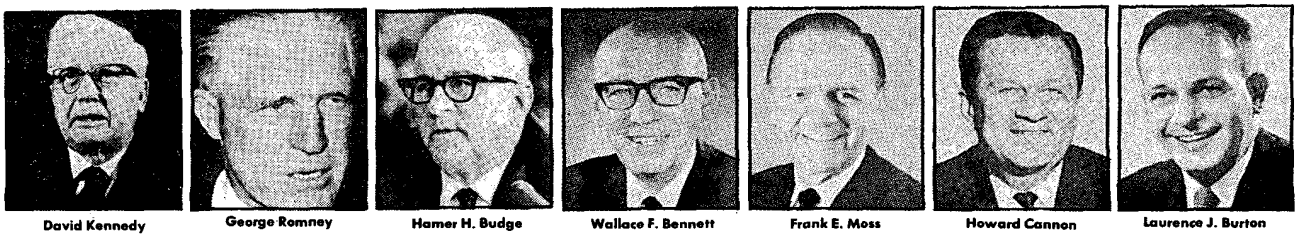
●

The Geneva mill is owned by U.S. Steel and not by Mormons, but church propagation of their belief in the sanctity of authority, of the divinity of private enterprise, is a powerful weapon against Utah labor, white and black.

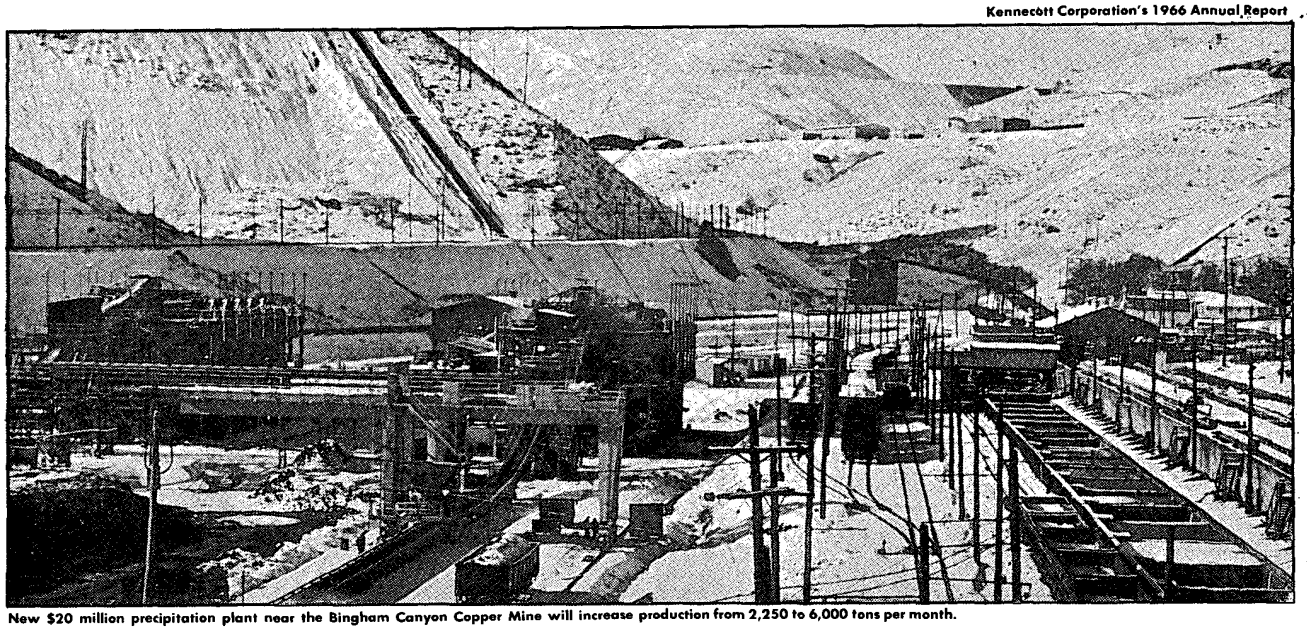
In the Geneva Steel mill, it is not unknown for a crane operator to work forty hours straight — five shifts without a break. Most high paying jobs are held by older workers; the young try to bring up their wages with overtime. The company encourages 60, 70, even 80 hours a week. This saves the expense of hiring and training additional men and saves on fringe benefits, however injurious it may be to health.

And what of the union? The United Steel Workers is good in resolution, but

Nixon's Mormons



David Kennedy | George Romney | Hamer H. Budge | Wallace F. Bennett | Frank E. Moss | Howard Cannon | Laurence J. Burton



New $20 million precipitation plant near the Bingham Canyon Copper Mine will increase production from 2,250 to 6,000 tons per month.

poor in practice. Its predominantly white staff leans toward protecting the jealously guarded seniority rights of a section of older, white workers. It is not inclined to go to bat against discriminatory hiring policies. Nationally, the union has lost several suits brought by the NAACP against unfair promotion practices. But no such suit has yet been brought in Utah, because the majority of workers at the Geneva mill are also Mormons, and it is difficult to challenge the power of the Church, which extends far beyond religion.

○

It used to be said among copper miners that Utah mines were veritable mantraps, that "nowhere can a worker get leaded, gassed, crushed or poisoned with arsenic or copper water more easily than in Utah." The former Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers' Union changed all that. Safety conditions have improved, but since Mine, Mill merged with the United Steel Workers, the struggle against racism in Utah's copper industry has not advanced.

In 1959, when the Kennecott Copper Company purchased the Garfield, Utah, Smelter from Rockefeller for $18.5 million, it inherited the only Negro wokers now employed there. Today, of 950 men in the local, 400 are Mexican-American and 50 are Puerto Rican. The company hires black Puerto Rican workers, but not blacks native to the United States.

Kennecott owns the copper mine at Bingham , Utah, the largest producer of copper in the United States. The open pit there rises like a huge stadium, covering 956 acres, its levels like bleacher seats for giants. Here a mountain is being eaten away by electric shovels, and automation has boosted production, but not wages. A worker told me, "I am no better off than I was in 1950, although I am now producing four times as much."

A director of Kennecott, Roy William Simmons, is at the same time president of Zion's (Mormon) First National Bank, president and director of Zion's Utah Bancorp, chairman of the board of Zion's Savings & Loan Association, director of the Mormon-owned Beneficial Life Insurance Company and of the Hotel Utah.

The editors of the Atlantic in its July, 1969, study of communications monopolies, pointed out that Bonneville International, affiliated with the Mormon Church, is a Salt Lake City barony engaged in a variety of enterprises to the value of $60 to $75 million. Bonneville also holds a $20 million (just under 5%) interest in the Los Angeles Times. "The Mormon Church may be the most extraordinary example of regional power," says the Atlantic. "Through an affiliate, the Bonneville International, the Church of the Latter Day Saints not only has extensive broadcast interests of its own but has negotiated a set of alliances with other Salt Lake City media owners, giving the combined group a mighty voice throughout the mountain states of the West."

In Utah, Bonneville owns two TV and three radio stations, and a newspaper. In addition, its holdings include TV stations in Seattle, Los Angeles and Kansas City, five international shortwave stations, and the interest in the Los Angeles Times already mentioned.

Arch L. Madsen, president of Bonneville International, was asked in a church publication, "Why are the electronic mass media so important to the church?" Mr. Madsen answered, in part, "Because they are such effective communications tools. As a church our task is to fulfill the Lord's purposes and carry the truth forward until it has penetrated every continent, and sounded in every ear."

Mr. Madsen's view of the truth is being challenged in a case now pending before the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, which aims to block renewal of the TV license of KSL, powerful voice of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City.

○

Two residents of that city, Ethel Hale and Paul Wharton, have documented their charge that on KSL civil rights questions receive biased or no coverage, that excessive right wing propaganda is broadcast with no provision for opposing views, and that such concentration of power in the ownership of communications is inconsistent with the public interest. In June, 1969, the FCC voted to send the Hale-Wharton information to the Justice Department to determine if anti-trust violations are involved.

It seems clear that the Latter Day Saints are very much in the world. A former professor at the University of Utah, William Mulder has written (**Among the Mormons**, Knopf) "Combining strong central direction with considerable local initiative, the (Mormon) institution is strong and solvent. The Council of the Twelve Apostles, serving as a corporation board of directors, manages a wealthy 'philanthropy.'"

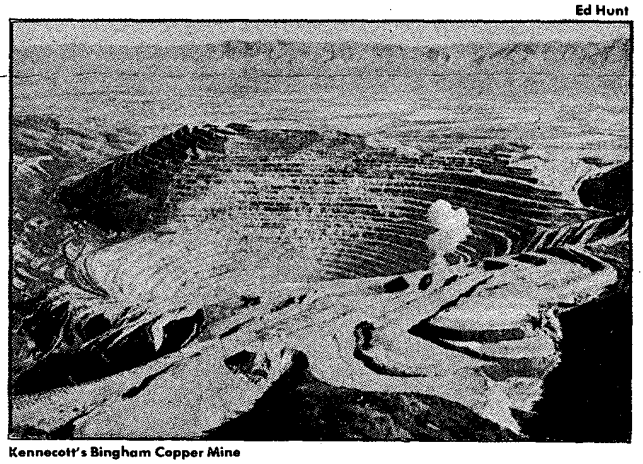
Mormon Apostles who have taken an active part in government include Reed Smoot, watch dog of the U.S. Treasury for Herbert Hoover, and Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture.

Nels Anderson, in his book **Desert Saints** (Chicago, 1942), said of Smoot: "No one has ever heard the chairman of the Finance Committee raise his apostolic voice in the interests of humanity. Champion of a theological laissez-faire political economy, he is above and beyond the groveling masses. At protecting large interests he is rarely beaten."

In the Nixon Administration, also believers in the sanctity of authority and the divinity of capitalism, Mormons have found a welcome place. Nixon's cabinet includes two Mormons: David Kennedy, Secretary of the Treasury is chairman of the Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints Clubs. George Romney, Secretary of Housing, and the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, Hamer H. Budge, R. of Idaho, are Mormon leaders, as are Senators Wallace F. Bennett (R) and Frank E. Moss (D) of Utah, and Senator Howard Cannon (D) of Nevada. Seven members of the House of Representatives are Mormons, and Who's Who lists Utah's Congressman Laurence J. Burton (R) as both a member of the Mormon Church and the American Legion.

The economic and political power of the Mormon hierarchy coincides with the interest of monopoly capital and must be fought as such.

Ed Hunt



Kennecott's Bingham Copper Mine

This reprint is from the official Communist Party paper called the WORLD MAGAZINE which is the weekend magazine supplement to the DAILY WORLD and the PEOPLE'S WORLD.

Additional copies of this reprint with the analysis of it by Mr. W. Cleon Skousen are available at cost postpaid from NATIONAL RESEARCH GROUP, Rt. 1, Box 102, American Fork, Utah 84003.

2 sets	.25	50 sets	3.00
10 sets	1.00	100 sets	5.00

(The above prices are for mailing to one address)

Subject: COMMUNIST PRESS CALLS FOR ATTACK ON LDS CHURCH

From: W. Cleon Skousen

Attached hereto is a reprint of an article from an official Communist Party paper called the **World Magazine** which is the Sunday Supplement to the **Daily World** and the **People's World**. This article appeared in the issue of October 18, 1969.

The last paragraph of this article calls for an attack on the LDS Church. You will note that the Communist strategy is NOT to attack the Latter-Day Saints as a "church," but as an institution of "economic and political power" which "coincides with the interests of monopoly capital."

This article is a typical Communist propaganda sheet filled with crumbs of truth intermixed with a whole loaf of false allegations and implications. It even claims the Mormon leaders are in control of the *Los Angeles Times!*

Anyone familiar with Communist tactics will recognize that this is no ordinary article. It is a signal to the Communist "transmission belt" to go to work. There are people strategically placed in the bulk of the opinion-molding facilities of the United States who watch for signals like this in the Communist press. The Communists are looked upon as the "vanguard" or tactical leaders in the fight against the open society of the United States. Communist signals are therefore accepted by the entire cadre of left-wing collectivists as the logical targets for a united attack. The Communists refer to this large group of fellow-travelers as their "transmission belt." By unitedly attacking an identical target, they create a syndrome of incidents which have an overwhelming impact on the thinking of the American people. This technique has been used successfully for fifty years.

This type of massive propaganda assault is designed to distort public thinking to the point where it paralyzes the effectiveness of the organization under attack. In fact, the object is not merely to discredit the victim but create an atmosphere of deep resentment or even hatred toward it.

For several months the volume and intensity of criticism against the LDS Church has been mounting. The Communist Party has apparently decided to take over the leadership of this agitation and give it financial and institutional support. If the pattern follows past incidents of this kind, we may expect to see the so-called legitimate press, radio and TV begin a whole series of "reports" on all types of subjects related to the LDS Church. It will be explained that the LDS Church has suddenly become "news." All of these "reports" will be handled in a way which makes the Church look rich, priest-ridden, racist, super-authoritarian and conservative to the point of being archaically reactionary.

In the past, organizations selected for this kind of assault have usually attempted to ignore the attack until the damage has become practically irreparable. A more responsive approach such as that followed by J. Edgar Hoover when the FBI is attacked has proven more effective in blunting the impact of such campaigns. Some damage will be done in any event, but by furnishing the public with facts and furnishing a prompt response to the various charges, it is possible for those who really want to know the truth to get it. To remain silent and hope the whole thing will "blow over" or "fade away" is exactly what the Communists want. This gives them a public-opinion vacuum in which to work.

If this signal from the Communist Party is successful in triggering the transmission belt into action, it is likely that within a very short time the Church will find itself struggling for living space on almost every front--legally, in proselyting, in academic tolerance, in athletic competition and in its attempt to get equal time through the media to defend its position. The syndrome on all of these fronts has already manifest itself, and if the Communist Party has its way the intensity of the attack will be increased a hundred-fold.

In times of crisis such as this, individual members of the Church can do at least four things:

1. Do your homework so you can appreciate what is happening. Do not become confused by the avalanche of hostile propaganda. Unique doctrines or policies of the Church will be seized upon for concentrated publicity. These will be distorted or made to appear as ridiculous as possible. In past crises, a few members of the Church have gotten on the enemy bandwagon and wagged their fingers of accusation with as much vigor as the opposition. They have demanded that the Church "change" and accommodate itself to the propaganda pressure.

2. Stand steadfastly behind the Prophet and the leaders of the Church. Do everything within your own sphere of influence to spread the truth on each of the issues as they arise. The Communist objective will be to thoroughly intimidate the members of the Church so they will feel "guilty" or become afraid to "get involved."

3. Do everything possible to avoid any statement or action which might inadvertently feed ammunition to the enemy. Part of the Communist strategy will be to provoke Church members to the point where some of them will over-react or over-state their position so these can be quoted over the transmission belt as "typical of the Mormon mentality."

 Should you happen to be contacted by a reporter, insist that all questions be submitted in writing. If you decide to reply, write your answers and keep a copy. Recently, members of the Church have been deliberately misquoted by the wire services. If the reporter claims there isn't time for a written exchange, then tell him you have "No Comment."

4. Avoid giving aid and comfort to the enemy. It is astonishing to find a few members of the Church actually making deliberate concessions to the opposition in an attempt to appear "objective," "honest," and "impartial." Joseph Smith would have considerable to say about this caliber of "fair-weather" member. As Thomas Marsh and other notable defectors of the past century discovered, such concessions by them did not turn out to be honest or objective, but a betrayal of the truth and a betrayal of the Church at a time when both needed uncompromising support.

One should keep in mind that during past crises the Lord has always used these occasions to shake loose the tares from the wheat.

September 15, 1970

ST-129 REC-2
94-47468-95

Mrs. Christine Siegle
Route 3
Norristown, Pennsylvania 19401

Dear Mrs. Siegle:

Your letter of September 8th has been received. In answer to your request, the FBI does not have for distribution copies of the material you desire. I regret we are unable to be of help in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 22
SEP 15 1970
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Correspondent refers to the 45 "Current Communist Goals" which were listed in the Congressional Record of 1/10/63, taken from "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen. The testimony as appeared stated that goals were compiled from the reports of Congressional hearings, together with available books by ex-Communists.

DCL:bjm (3)

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

6 0 SEP 24 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Norristown, Pa.,
Sept. 8th, 1970.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Wash. D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:-

Please forward the testimony of W. Cleon Skousen of the FBI in the "Congressional Record of January 10th 1963".

I have tried local and official sources to no avail, either out of print or no such record, is the reply.

I know we have the same views, and I am sure you will be able to secure this information for me.

Thanks for your kind attention and co-operation, I am

Very truly yours,

Christine Siegle

Mrs. Christine Siegle,
R.D.#3,
Norristown, Pa. 19401

CORRESPONDENCE

ST-129 RECORDED - 47468-95

SEP 16 1970

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MR. TOLSON
MR. SULLIVAN
MR. MOHR
MR. BISHOP
MR. BRENNAN, C.D.
MR. CALLAHAN
MR. CASPER
MR. CONRAD
MR. FELT
MR. GALE
MR. ROSEN
MR. TAVEL
MR. WALTERS
MR. SOYARS
MR. JONES
TELE. ROOM
MISS HOLMES
MRS. METCALF
MISS GANDY

Jan. 19, 1970

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing a copy of a review of W. Cleon Skousen's book, The Naked Capitalist which is being distributed to papers, etc. in the country.

I am working very closely w with Mr. Skousen, as you can see.

Thanks so much for your nice note and enclosure. I shall treasure them!

Cordially

William E. Fort, Jr.

COPY:nm

EXP. PROC.
JAN 22 1971

SI-114

REC-79 94-47468-96

JAN 26 1971

55 JAN 29 1971

From the desk of:
WILLIAM E. FORT, JR.

Jan. 19, 1970

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing a copy of a review of W. Cleon Skousen's book, The Naked Capitalist which is being distributed to papers, etc. in the country. I am working very closely with Mr. Skousen, as you can tell.

Thanks so much for your nice note and enclosure. I shall treasure them!

Cordially

William E. Fort Jr.

W. E. FORT, JR.
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
~~PHILOS~~ J.S.9
PROVO, UTAH 84601

THE NAKED CAPITALIST (A review and commentary on Dr. Carroll Quigley's 1300 page book, TRAGEDY AND HOPE) by W. Cleon Skousen. Reviewed by William E. Fort, Jr. Ph. D.

The huge book, TRAGEDY AND HOPE by Dr. Carroll Quigley which appeared first in 1966 (published by the Macmillan Company) might have escaped the attention of anyone but a few scholars except for its careful dissection by W. Cleon Skousen. Professor Skousen possesses unique qualities necessary for this work. His keen analytical mind has been sharpened by his legal training and by his sixteen years of service with the F.B.I. In addition, he was a distinguished Chief of Police in Salt Lake City for four years and was Editorial Director of the nation's leading law enforcement magazine, "Law and Order". He has been a highly successful professor for seven years at Brigham Young University.

Professor Skousen's keen eye detected passages, sandwiched between lengthy discourses in Dr. Quigley's book, that reflected a fascinating pattern of information fitting neatly into many things he had learned in his years of intelligence work. He knew, for example, that certain very wealthy and powerful persons, both within this country and abroad, are and have been doing things in support of the Communist Conspiracy throughout the world. Then, too, Dr. Bella Dodd, a former member of the National Committee of the U.S. Communist Party told him several years ago that she first became aware of some super-leadership right after World War II when the U.S. Communist Party had difficulty in getting instructions from Moscow on several vital matters requiring immediate attention. The American Communist hierachy was told that any time they had an emergency of this kind they should contact any one of three designated persons at the Waldorf Towers. Dr. Dodd noted that whenever the Party

94-47468-96

ENCLOSURE

obtained instructions from any of these three men. Moscow always ratified them. What puzzled Dr. Dodd was the fact that not one of these contacts was a Russian. Nor were any of them Communists. In fact, all three were extremely wealthy capitalists! Dr. Dodd said, "I would certainly like to find out who is really running things. I think the Communist Conspiracy is merely a branch of a much bigger conspiracy!"

The portions gleaned by Professor Skousen from Dr. Quigley's book relate to the secret powers operating behind the scenes to destroy our Constitutional Republic and our traditional freedom and to establish a One-World, Socialist Dictated Government. Dr. Quigley speaks as an insider of some twenty years standing. He approves wholeheartedly of the secret machinations of those who would destroy our nation and place the world under a Socialist dictatorship. He sneers at those American patriots who are fighting against Communism and states that they have missed the right target-the secret group of insiders who would rule the world. He feels that it would be tragedy for the free-enterprising, constitutional Americans to win. On the contrary he believes that our real hope lies in the victory of the secret operators. Hence the title of his book, Tragedy and Hope.

Dr. Quigley, however, believes that the real battle is finished and that his side has won. In effect, he believes that it is all over but the shouting and that it is now next to impossible to reverse the process. He strongly feels that those responsible for the victory should get public credit and this he does in his book. He traces out the secret movements over the years, naming names and places. Some of the names involved will come as a shock to many Americans. The secret moves will shock them further.

Professor Skousen does an outstanding job of bringing together and crystalizing the important facts of Dr. Quigley's book in his book, The Naked Capitalist. The 144 pages of Professor Skousen's book are very clearly presented. It is a book difficult to put down after one starts reading it. His commentary is outstanding and very enlightening. The very complete index and sub-index are extremely helpful, making it easy to trace the activities of men and organizations.

The Naked Capitalist will answer many questions concerning the strange things that have been going on in the world and in this country for many years. Those who do not have the patience to tackle Dr. Quigley's 1300 page book directly should by all means read Professor Skousen's 144 page commentary which contains in a nutshell the essence of the story of THE BIG CONSPIRACY. This book is a "must" for those interested in what is taking place behind the scenes.

(The Naked Capitalist, by W. Cleon Skousen, 2197 Berkeley Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84109; paperback, 144 pp., price $2.00)

Reviewed by, William E. Fort, Jr., Ph. D.

PERS. REC. UNIT

REC-7 94-47468-97

EX-104

February 16, 1971

Mrs. Donald S. Allen
1411 Buckingham Road
Winter Park, Florida 32789

Dear Mrs. Allen: Helen K.

I have received your letter of February 5th, with enclosures, and want to thank you for your kind remarks concerning my work. Your support is most encouraging and means a great deal to me.

In response to your inquiries, it is contrary to my long-standing policy to comment on material not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. Further, any information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice.

I can tell you, however, that Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left this Bureau are strictly his own.

I have no objection to your quoting this letter in the manner you proposed.

MAILED 12
FEB 26 1971
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1 - Tampa - Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. One of her enclosures was a stamped, self-addressed envelope which was utilized for this reply.

JBT:cmg (4)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

56 MAR - 3 1971

[redacted] Buckingham Road
[redacted]ter Park, Florida
February 5, 1971

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

A leaflet like the one enclosed was sent to me by friends who live in Utah, where it was published. As you can see, it advertises a book by W. Cleon Skousen, called "The Naked Capitalist," which in turn is a review of another book entitled "Tragedy and Hope," by Dr. Carroll Quigley. No doubt you are familiar with both books. I have bought Mr. Skousen's book, and have read it. The whole monstrous plan revealed in this book is shocking and frightening. I am writing to you in the hope that you will be willing to tell me your frank appraisal of the whole scheme, perhaps answering these questions:

1. Is it all really true?
2. Do you believe this scheme is working so well and has advanced so far that it cannot be stopped?
3. Is this sinister Establishment here portrayed the same "Establishment" which the dissidents, rioters, Black Panthers, etc. are so vehemently fighting against?
4. Do you think, as I do, that the people of this country - all the people - should be alerted and informed as soon as possible?
5. Have you any suggestions about accomplishing effective publicity?

I wish to take this opportunity to compliment you on the fine job you are doing in your extremely important position as head of the F. B. I. I fear there are members of this sinister Establishment who would like to see you resign, for fear you know too much about them, but I hope you can, and will, keep right on for many years yet.

I am not a reporter, or writer, but just a "homebody," wife of a college professor who has just retired. I read all the news carefully and worry a great deal about things that are happening in this country. I am alarmed about this Capitalist scheme (combined with socialism) and am trying to find out what we of the "silent majority" can do about it. I hope you will send me some word of your opinion or appraisal on this subject. I plan to send copies of this leaflet to others, and would like to have some statement from you that you would permit me to quote and thus give credence to my concern.

A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience in replying. I hope you will send me some reply, however brief. It will be most appreciated.

94-47468-97

EX-104 REC-7

Very sincerely yours,

Helen K. Allen

(Mrs. Donald S. Allen)

FEB 17 1971

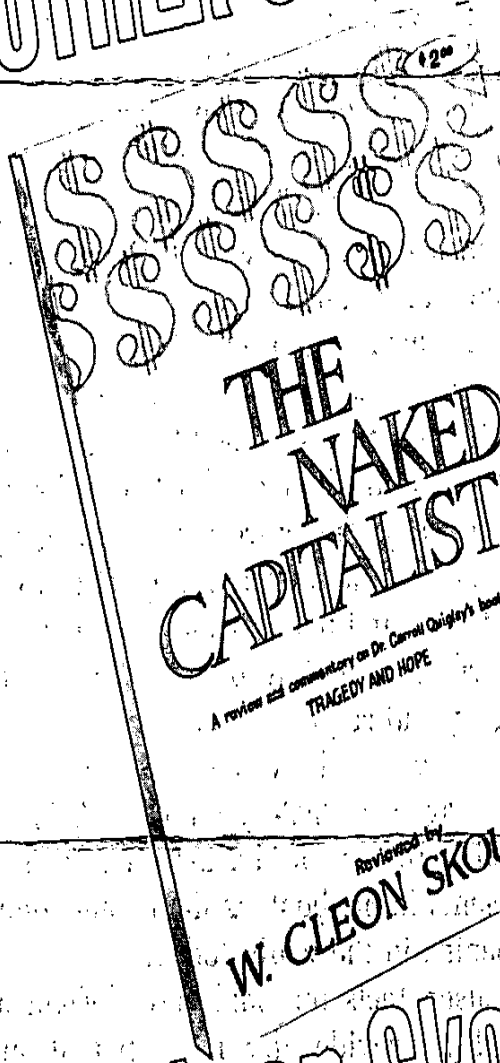
1 - ENCLOSURE

Enclosures: Leaflet of information
Stamped envelope

CRIME RESEARCH
10 FEB -9 '72
PERS. REC. UNIT

New

ANOTHER SMASH HIT!



By W. Cleon Skousen

at last THE NAKED CAPITALIST could be written!

Someone on the inside has talked.

Have you ever wondered why some of the wealthiest people in the world have been financing Communism, Socialism, Black Panthers, SDS, Weathermen, and many other forms of violence and revolution?

Now it can be told. Dr. Carroll Quigley of Harvard, Princeton, and Georgetown Universities let the secret out in his 1,300 page book, **Tragedy and Hope,** which was published by the Macmillan Company.

Being an "insider" himself, Dr. Quigley was able to give the names, dates and places for the whole amazing plan concocted by those who feel they have the necessary economic and political power to seize the human and natural resources of the entire world. Dr. Quigley seems to feel that this plan is now so far advanced that it is the hope of the future and that anyone who stands in the way is only contributing to tragedy. Hence the title of his book, "Tragedy and Hope."

Because few people would be willing to struggle through Dr. Quigley's 1,300-page tome, W. Cleon Skousen has provided a review of the amazing facts which Dr. Quigley presents in his book as the explanation for much that is happening in the world today.

Mr. Skousen feels the bold and defiant admissions by Dr. Quigley provide the most potent ammunition available to shock and awaken Americans to the reality of their peril. In spite of these alarming conditions, Mr. Skousen feels the tide can still be turned. His review is designed to get the facts before the people so that positive action can be taken in time.

the Naked Capitalist reveals:

- Why the Communist Party turned out to be merely a branch of a much bigger conspiracy.
- Why the richest men in the world have been financing both Communist revolution and Socialist legislation.
- How they gained control of the Bank of England.
- How they set up the American Federal Reserve System as a private monopoly.
- The origin and historical development of a plan to gain control of the people and resources of the world.
- The various branches of what these master-planners call their "Secret Society."
- How they used the wealthy tax-exempt foundations to dominate American education.
- How they took over the press media.
- How they seized control of the radio and TV networks.
- How they took over many of the largest religious denominations.
- How they developed powerful control centers in both the Democrat and Republican parties.
- The real significance of the Council on Foreign Relations as an instrument of subversion and conquest.
- How they took over the U. S. State Department.
- How they manipulated themselves into control of the White House and dominated the administration of the last five presidents.
- How they barely escaped being exposed several times.
- How they maneuvered 700 million people into the Communist camp.
- The real story behind the McCarthy hearings.
- The real story behind the Goldwater campaign.
- What is happening during the Nixon administration.
- Why the situation is critical but not hopeless.
- What can be done about it.

You will find this review and commentary by Mr. Skousen fascinating reading

Special First Edition . . .
QUANTITY DISCOUNT OFFER

THE NAKED CAPITALIST has a message that needs *to be told . . . and needs to be understood . . .we know* that thousands of Americans will want to help deliver this message. In order to make this book available at a quantity discount rate National Research Group has contracted for the first 5,000 copies.

NRG offers THE NAKED CAPITALIST to you at the following discount prices:

1 to 9 copies	$2.00 each
10 to 24 copies	1.80 each
25 to 49 copies	1.70 each
50 to 99 copies	1.60 each

Request quote for quantities above 100

National Research Group
P. O. Box 156
Pleasant Grove, Utah 84062

Order Form

Ship to: _____

Name _____ Quantity

Street or Box _____ Price

City _____

State and Zip _____

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R.D. Cotter

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 4/19/71

1 - Mr. J.M. Sizoo

FROM : R. D. Cotter

SUBJECT: "HOME-GROWN SUBVERSION"
ARTICLE BY W. CLEON SKOUSEN

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

SYNOPSIS:

Purpose of memorandum is to answer Director's inquiry regarding article captioned as above in March, 1971, issue of "Law and Order" magazine. Skousen, former Bureau employee--clerk 1935-1940, Special Agent 1940-1951 when voluntarily resigned, now editorial director of "Law and Order." We are circumspect with Skousen because of his efforts to capitalize on Bureau career to benefit his anticommunist activities. Article claims "dynastic rich" (inheritors of wealth) subsidizing "forces of violent revolution" to help rich take over country for "good" of humanity. Skousen's claim that Karl Marx turned to "democratic socialism" as means to seize power not substantiated. Marx never renounced violence of class struggle or proletarian revolution. Skousen claim that wealthy class financed Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 not supported by research, and his charge that Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb and Company gave $20 million for "final triumph of Bolshevism" not validated. Skousen's allegations that tax-exempt foundations have given money to civil rights groups and functionaries, including several militant black nationalists are generally valid but include inaccuracies. Several grants verified, as listed by Skousen, from Ford Foundation to organizations he alleges carry out "policies and propaganda favoring a globalist strategy." Skousen's reference to "left-wing collectivists" seeking Federal constitutional convention is unsubstantiated. Only such effort known was made by late Senator Everett Dirksen who wanted amendment negating U. S. Supreme Court 1964 "one man, one vote" ruling which calls for equal population in voting districts.

94-47461-98

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-85

APR 23 1971

For the Director's information.

JMS:glw
(5)

DETAILS - CONTINUED OVER

55 MAY 10 1971

PERS. REC. UNIT

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: "Home-Grown Subversion"
Article by W. Cleon Skousen

DETAILS:

This memorandum provides detailed response to the Director's inquiry regarding article entitled, "Home-Grown Subversion" by W. Cleon Skousen in March, 1971, issue of "Law and Order" magazine. Director inquired: "Can we authenticate statements made in this article?" My memorandum 3/29/71 noted extensive research necessary to check reference works and Bufiles.

The Author

W. Cleon Skousen is a former Bureau employee, serving as a clerk 1935-1940, and as a Special Agent 1940-1951 when he voluntarily resigned. He was Chief of Police in Salt Lake City, Utah, 1956-1960, and is presently editorial director of "Law and Order" magazine, a commerical venture not associated with any law enforcement agency or organization. We are circumspect in dealing with Skousen because of his efforts to capitalize on his past association with Bureau in order to benefit his writing and speaking activities in opposition to communism. (67-69602)

The Article

Thrust of Skousen's article is that a certain segment of the wealthy people in this country--the so-called "dynastic rich," those who have inherited great wealth--are subsidizing "forces of violent revolution." The purpose of this subsidy, according to Skousen, is to help the "dynastic rich" in their efforts to take over and control the United States for what the rich believe is "good" for humanity. They are realizing success at this game, Skousen believes, because "the people" have become tired "of working out their destiny" and are willing to "sacrifice their independence for the luxury of having others take care of them." The attempt of the "dynastic rich" to control others runs counter to the American Revolution, which Skousen asserts created an independent nation and spread political power, financial power, and religious self-determination among the people.

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: "Home-Grown Subversion"
Article by W. Cleon Skousen

Skousen is accurate in claiming that several writers, including historian Dr. Carroll Quigley of Georgetown University, have produced studies purporting to document a network of wealthy persons which wields considerable influence in business and financial circles, government, and the mass communications media.

Skousen Unsupported

Skousen asserts that when Karl Marx's "dream" of violent revolution was largely rejected after 1848, Marx turned to support of "democratic socialism" as a means of taking political and economic power. Research, however, fails to show that Marx ever renounced the violence of the class struggle and the proletarian revolution. Skousen also claims that Marx considered reformist tactics the best method to take over the United States and England. But, he fails to specify a source in Marx's writings, and research fails to verify Skousen's statement. Furthermore, Marx was highly critical of "reformist" tactics, such as seeking improvements through legislation and strongly held that society could only be improved by violent destruction of the capitalist state.

Claims Regarding Financing Russian Revolution

One especially dubious claim by Skousen is that scholars are beginning to discover that, wherever Communist revolutions have succeeded, it has been due to financial aid by some of the wealthiest people in the world. As evidence for this claim, Skousen maintains that several "dynastic banking families" financed the Communist revolution in Russia.

According to Skousen, Leon Trotsky, in his biography, refers to some of the "loans" coming from British financiers as far back as 1907. Trotsky's book, "My Life," (page 202) mentions only one such loan, that of 3,000 pounds by an "English liberal" to help cover some expenses of the 1907 Bolshevik Party Congress in London. Trotsky states that years later the Soviet Government paid back the loan for which all Congress delegates had been cosigners.

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: "Home-Grown Subversion"
Article by W. Cleon Skousen

British Subsidies

By 1917, Skousen asserts, the major subsidies for "the revolution" were being arranged by Sir George Buchanan, then British Ambassador to Russia and Lord Alfred Milner who was in Russia as a special representative. One source suggested by Skousen refers merely to "private interviews," not further identified, as documentation for the above claim. A second source, citing hearsay, refers only to British aid to the March, 1917, revolution that overthrew Czar Nicholas II but not to any aid for the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917.

Jacob Schiff

Skousen charges that Jacob Schiff (1847-1920) of the New York investment banking firm, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, furnished the Communist leaders around $20 million for the "final triumph of Bolshevism" in Russia. This figure is reportedly cited in the February 3, 1949, edition of the now defunct "New York Journal American" by Jacob Schiff's grandson. According to his biographer C. A. Adler, Jacob Schiff in his letters and speeches blamed the Russian Imperial Government of Czar Nicholas II for anti-Jewish policies and practices and personally gave about $500,000 for relief of Jews in Russia prior to 1917. Schiff later was reportedly sympathetic to the Provisional Government, providing one million rubles for its "liberty loan" in April, 1917, but was strongly opposed to the Communists in Russia. Review of microfilm records of the February 3, 1949, "New York Journal American" failed to locate any article about Jacob Schiff and possible financing of the Bolsheviks as Skousen alleges. No evidence was found to substantiate Skousen's claim that between 1918 and 1922 Levin paid back 600 million rubles to Kuhn, Loeb and Company. It is noted that the notorious anti-FBI critic, Dorothy Schiff of the "New York Post," is a granddaughter of Jacob Schiff.

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: "Home-Grown Subversion"
Article by W. Cleon Skousen

Hearings Regarding Schiff, 1918

Allegations that Jacob Schiff and other Jewish investment bankers helped to finance the Communist revolution in Russia have appeared in the past. In 1959, at the Director's instructions, such an allegation against Jacob Schiff was checked out in a review of the hearings conducted in December, 1918, by a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate. Entitled "Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda," the hearings also covered Russian and Bolshevik activities in this country and Europe prior to that time. The hearings absolved Kuhn, Loeb and Company of alleged pro-German sympathies and failed to bring out any information indicating that Jacob Schiff helped to finance the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. (100-407194-6)

Skousen's claim that other international bankers were involved in financing the Communist takeover apparently comes from a book, "Czarism and Revolution," by Arsene de Goulevitch, a former Czarist Army officer who fled Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. Goulevitch in turn attributes the information to a document published in Rostov, Russia, in 1919, which reportedly attributed the information to the archives of a high French Government office (not identified).

From the same sources Skousen notes that Trotsky later (after 1917) married the daughter of one wealthy contributing banker named Jivotovsky. Trotsky's book, "My Life," and all available biographies on Trotsky contain no references to the name Jivotovsky and indicate that Trotsky's second marriage, about 1904, lasted until his assassination in 1940 in Mexico City.

Current Events

Skousen points out that the "secret network" of British wealth combined with the "dynastic rich" of the United States as far back as World War I to form the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). The purpose of these groups, according to Skousen has been to guide "U.S. foreign policy toward the

CONTINUED - OVER

establishment of a world-wide collectivist society." He also alleges that Congressional investigations have shown CFR and IPR responsible for establishing policies that led to the loss of China to the communists, to the "mismanagement" of the Korean War, and to the so-called "no win" approach to the conflict in Vietnam.

The CFR, headquartered in New York City, was founded in 1922 and is self-described as a nonpolitical group supporting U. S. foreign relations in an impartial and scholarly spirit. The Council publishes "Foreign Affairs" quarterly magazine and its membership has reportedly included numerous prominent individuals such as the late President Eisenhower and New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller. (62-5256-17,9x4,27)

Founded in 1925, the IPR engaged in research into the economic, political, and social aspects of Pacific Ocean countries. In 1952, the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the U. S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary concluded that IPR was actually controlled by a small core of communists or pro-communist personnel and that IPR associates were instrumental in keeping U. S. policy on a course favorable to communist objectives in China. (100-371054-14)

Skousen claims that through tax-exempt foundations the "dynastic rich" align their forces with the violent, revolutionary left to create such havoc that Americans will call on the Government in Washington, D. C., to take over. In connection with this approach, Skousen referred properly to testimony of "Jerry Kirk" in Congressional hearings. This individual is [redacted] who was a Bureau informant from 1966-1969 and furnished information on the Communist Party and Students for a Democratic Society in Chicago. Kirk is now speaking throughout the country on communist and other extremist activities. [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: "Home-Grown Subversion"
Article by W. Cleon Skousen

The following have been furnished money by tax-exempt foundations to further militant activities according to Skousen:

Rev. Milton A. Galamison

Galamison, Negro minister of the Siloam Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York, has been active since the mid-1950s as a leader and participant in numerous civil rights protests, disruptions at the New York City School Board meetings, and Negro boycotts of New York City public schools. He has been arrested several times in connection with these activities. As Skousen notes, Galamison was the keynote speaker at the 1964 founding convention of the now defunct W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, the Communist Party, USA youth front. In fact, he reportedly asked to be invited to appear. Galamison has been an acquaintance of Henry Winston, CPUSA National Chairman, and officiated at Winston's 1965 marriage. The Ford Foundation did give $160,000 to a group Galamison headed, as Skousen asserts. The Ford Foundation, established in 1936, has by far the highest assets of any foundation--$3.5 billion in 1968. McGeorge Bundy, adviser to former President Lyndon Johnson, is president of the Ford Foundation. (100-440326-26; Wash Post 7/15/68 p. A-17)

Herman B. Ferguson

Skousen is accurate in describing Ferguson as a black revolutionist associated in the past with RAM, the now defunct Marxist-Maoist-oriented Revolutionary Action Movement. Ferguson was indicted for conspiracy to murder Negro leaders Roy Wilkins of the National Association for Advancement of the Colored People and the recently deceased Whitney M. Young, Jr., of the National Urban League. Skousen is not accurate, however, in his claim that the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy was involved as a target in the murder conspiracy charged to Ferguson and several other black militants. Ferguson and one other defendant were convicted in June, 1968, of the murder conspiracy charges and are currently FBI fugitives for unlawful flight to avoid confinement. Contrary to Skousen, Ferguson was not hired by the Ford Foundation after his June, 1967, arrest on the murder conspiracy

CONTINUED - OVER

charge, but was hired by the community governing board of a New York City school and paid from a Ford Foundation grant to that board. While free on bond awaiting trial, Ferguson urged Negroes to obtain and practice with weapons for "self-defense" against whites. Because of those comments, his bail in February, 1968, was raised to $100,000 and he was jailed when unable to furnish it. He was released later on lowered bond. In March, 1968, the Board of Education President ruled Ferguson could not hold the position financed by the Ford Foundation. (100-443173-18,21,30,50; New York Times 2/27/68)

Le Roi Jones

Jones is an extremely militant black nationalist whose writings are bitterly antiwhite and replete with vulgarity. While Bufiles do not substantiate Skousen's reference to a specific $50,000 foundation grant to Jones for his writing career, the "New York Post" of October 19, 1961, stated that Jones was writing then under a fellowship of the John Hay Whitney Foundation, which was funded by Whitney who was formerly publisher and president of the now defunct "New York Herald Tribune." Jones directed the antiwhite Black Arts Repertory Theater in Harlem in 1965 with some $40,000 furnished by the Office of Economic Opportunity through HARYOU-ACT, a multi-million dollar antipoverty program in Harlem. Funds from that source were cut off in late 1965. Jones was arrested in the July, 1967, Newark, New Jersey, rioting on gun possession charges of which he was eventually acquitted. (100-425307-38)

National Urban League
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Skousen alleges that when the National Urban League, led by the late Whitney M. Young, Jr., came out in favor of "black power" and stated it was no longer against violence, the League received $2 million from a foundation. Young, who died in Nigeria on March 11, 1971, had stated in 1969 that black power should be "interpreted to mean the development of black pride and self-determination," and that it was

 CONTINUED - OVER

necessary to "rescue the term from the aura of violence and hostility." There were reports in December, 1968, that the Ford Foundation was supplying an unspecified grant to the League. The Director has described Young as one stripe above Martin Luther King. (62-112176-5; Facts on File 1968 p.613)

Other Grants

Skousen also lists grants from one foundation to a number of organizations allegedly carrying out the "policies and propaganda favoring a globalist strategy." While his article does not reveal the name of the foundation, Skousen previously identified it in other writings as the Ford Foundation. No information was found to either confirm or deny some of the grants mentioned by Skousen or to identify the "revolutionary dissident" who allegedly purchased a $75,000 home with grant money. Following are the grants in Skousen's list which have been verified.

Grants Verified

The Council on Foreign Relations--$1,000,000. According to available information, the Ford Foundation granted $900,000 to the above group in 1962 for a three-year study on Communist China and a two-year study on North Atlantic countries. (Facts on File 1962 p. 326)

The Adlai E. Stevenson Institute of International Affairs--$1,000,000. There is a record of a Ford Foundation matching grant of $5,000,000 to the Stevenson Institute after it was set up in 1967 as an "action-oriented body," seeking to "assist in finding reasonable solutions to critical problems." (105-211540-3; Facts on File 1967 pp. 242-243)

Institute of International Education--$1,625,000. In 1966 the Ford Foundation reportedly made a grant of $2,000,000 to the Institute to finance faculty exchanges and other collaboration between the Universities of Chile and California. The Institute, founded in 1919 and headquartered in New York City, develops and administers educational exchange programs between this country and over 100 countries abroad. (Facts on File 1966 p. 479)

CONTINUED - OVER

Southern Regional Council--$648,000. In 1966 the Council announced a Negro voter registration drive in 11 Southern states with partial financing by an unspecified grant from the Ford Foundation. The Council purports to be a biracial group with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, which seeks to improve economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South. We conducted a preliminary investigation in 1963, discontinuing when no communist infiltration found. (100-273340-86,88; Facts on File 1966 p.140)

Constitutional Convention

Skousen's article concludes with an unsubstantiated reference to "left-wing collectivists" quietly obtaining resolutions from 33 state legislatures calling for a Federal constitutional convention. The only references in recent years to a call for such a convention pertain to efforts by the late Senator Everett Dirksen to convene a constitutional convention to propose an amendment negating the U. S. Supreme Court's 1964 decision requiring Congressional voting districts, as nearly as practicably possible, to be equal in population--"the one man, one vote" ruling. In this regard, by 1970, 33 state legislatures had passed resolutions calling for such a convention--1 state less than the required two-thirds. Legal problems face some of the resolutions and 1 state legislature later rescinded its previous resolution. (Facts on File 1964 p. 53G2)

Skousen's reference to a new Constitution prepared by the "dynastic collectivists" pertains to a document prepared under the aegis of Rexford Guy Tugwell and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Dr. Robert Hutchins-led outgrowth of the Fund for the Republic. The suggested Constitution provides, among other things, for a 9-year President's term; two Vice Presidents; 20 "republics instead of the 50 states; 400-member House of Representatives; a Senate with lifetime appointments; a Court of the Constitution to replace the Supreme Court; retention of the Bill of Rights safeguards except for the right to trial by jury and the right to bear arms. Tugwell, 79, was a member

 CONTINUED - OVER

of several communist-front groups in the 1930s and 1940s and was known as a "braintruster" during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration. Both the Center and the Fund for the Republic have contained individuals associated with left-wing causes, including various communist-front groups.

(100-391697-717)
(62-5-23841)
(Facts on File 1970 p. 648)

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 3/29/71

FROM : R. D. Cotter

SUBJECT: "HOME GROWN SUBVERSION"
ARTICLE BY W. CLEON SKOUSEN

The March, 1971, issue of "Law and Order," a monthly law enforcement magazine, carries part XIII of article captioned as above. The article discusses, in essence, support of subversive movements by wealthy people, whom he refers to as "the dynastic rich." Several instances of wealthy support of subversive groups are cited. The Director noted, "Can we authenticate statements made in this article?"

Some of the examples used by the author, W. Cleon Skousen, are historical and refer to Bolshevik takeover of Russia. Other examples relate to instances of tax free foundations supporting violence-prone black nationalists or organizations carrying out propaganda policies favoring global strategy.

Research has begun to answer the Director's question. However, due to the large number of reference works and Bureau files which must be thoroughly reviewed, it is anticipated that this project will require several weeks to complete. This will be done as quickly as possible, however.

ACTION:

In response to the Director's inquiry.

TJS:ekn
(4)

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter

REC-85

EX-112

APR 27 1971

MAY 5 1971

September 1, 1971

PERS. REC. UNIT

REC-35
94-47468-100

Mr. Charles ~~W.~~ McTaggart
22126 San Miguel Street
Woodland Hills, California 91364

Dear Mr. McTaggart:

In reply to your letter of August 27th, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

MHB:mls (3)

MAILED 12
SEP - 1 1971
FBI

62 SEP 1 1971

Tolson
Felt
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Gale
Ponder
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Y RETAINED IN
SONNEL RECORDS UNIT

TRUE COPY

22126 San Miguel St.,
Woodland Hills, Cal. 91364
Aug. 27, 1971

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir;

I would like to know if Cleon Skousen, the author & presently a College instructor in Utah, I believe, was ever a duly appointed, full fledged agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Thanking you for a reply, I remain,

Yours truly,
Charles W. McTaggart

RETAINED IN PERSONNEL RECORDS UNIT

TRUE COPY

MC
8-30-71
mle

aok/rmd
9-1-71

REC-35 94-47468-100
SEP 2 1971
PERS. REC. UNIT

22126 San Miguel St.,
Woodland Hills, Cal 91364

Aug. 27, 1971

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir;

I would like to know if Cleon Skousen, the author & presently a College instructor in Utah, I believe, was ever a duly appointed, full fledged agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Thanking you for a reply, I remain,

Yours truly,
Charles W. McTaggart

MC
8-30-71
mls

ack/mml
9-1-71
MHB/mls

CORRESPONDENCE

June 25, 1971

94-41768

Mr. Ralph M. Hann
656 Coles Mill Road
Franklinville, New Jersey 08322

Dear Mr. Hann:

Mr. Hoover received your letter of June 16th, with enclosure, and appreciates your interest in sending this information.

With regard to your inquiry, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen's personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments are strictly his own and it is not possible for Mr. Hoover to comment on his activities or writings.

MAILED 22
JUN 25 1971
FBI

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

1 - Newark - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Bufiles reflect last outgoing 3-14-68. Hann is a member of the John Birch Society who has sent the Bureau several copies of communications he has furnished to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He has submitted several communications along this line since 1967. In June, 1967, he was sent a reply over Miss Gandy's signature in an effort to discourage him from writing since it was felt any reply might be used by him for his own purposes.

JPK:jmh (4)

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Beaver
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

02 JUL 8 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-111557-9

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.
attn: J. Edgar Hoover

June 16, 1971

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Mr. Beaver
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I enclose an article which appeared in the Phila. Daily News of June 1
I have reason to believe that the Robert W. Harper mentioned in professor
W. Harper of Glassboro State College. He has admitted supporting Angela D

Also, have you read The Naked Capitalist by W. Cleon Skousen? If so, w
you think of it?

Keep up your good work in the investigation of subversive activities.

Sincerely,

Ralph M. Hann

Ralph M. Hann
656 Coles Mill Rd.
Franklinville, N.J. 08322

P.S. please share this info with the H.I.S.S.

94-47468

NOT RECORDED
191 JUL 2 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-47468-111-55

JUN 16 1971

Miss Gandy reply found
6-25-71
JPK:jmd

CORRESPONDENCE

ENCLOSURE

PERS. REC. UNIT

EX-102

September 2, 1971

REC-36 94-47435-101

Mr. Lawrence C. Schweier
2602 East Lynn Avenue
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46805

Dear Mr. Schweier:

Your letter was received on August 30th, and I appreciate your interest in writing me.

With regard to your inquiry, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen's personal ventures, as well as his opinions and comments, are strictly his own and it is not possible for me to comment concerning his activities or writings.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

dcl

NOTE: One prior letter was received from correspondent dated 12/2/70, with which he forwarded a copy of a letter he sent Senator Birch Bayh, Jr., in which he took strong issue with the Senator for his criticism of the Director. Bulet 12/10/70 to Schweier was a note of appreciation. (94-57952-20)

DCL:pls (3)

Tolson
Felt
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Gale
Ponder
Rosen
Tavel
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 12
SEP 2 1971
FBI

58 SEP 14 1971

TRUE COPY

Aug 25, 1971
2602 E. Lynn Ave
Fort Wayne, Ind 46805

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Justice Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover -

May I request your counsel? I have recently run across a book titled "The Naked Capitalist" by W. Cleon Skousen (Published by the Reviewer, Salt Lake City) this book is a review and commentary on "The Tragedy and Hope" By Dr. Carroll Quigley If Iffind the commentary, as reported by Mr. Skousen, Plausible, is He the sort of individual who is reputable, truthful, conscientious, and Patriotic? Would he be the Sort of man whose Principles can be identified with "good" constitutional Americanism?

Lawrence C. Schweier

EX-102

REC. 36 94- 47468-101

1 SEP 2 1971

1 TC 9-2-71 CW

ack'l 9-2-71 DCL Old

TRUE COPY

PERS. REC. UNIT

Aug 2[illegible] 1971

2603 E. Lynn Ave
Fort Wayne, Ind 46805

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Justice Department
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover —

May I request your counsel?
I have recently run across a book titled
"the Naked Capitalist" by W. Cleon Skousen
(Published by the Reviewer, Salt Lake city)
this book is a review and commentary on
"the tragedy and Hope" By Dr. Carroll Quigley

If I find the commentary, as reported by Mr.
Skousen, Plausible, is He the sort of individual
who is reputable, truthful, conscientious, and
Patriotic? would he be the sort of man whose
Principles can be identified with "good" constitutional
Americanism?

Lawrence C. Schneider

[illegible]
9-F-71
Dec. CA

PERS. REC. UNIT

EX-101

REC-19 94-47468-102

November 5, 1971

Mrs. Weldon Pascoe
950 Locust Lane
Tacoma, Washington 98465

Dear Mrs. Pascoe:

Your letter of November 1st, with enclosure, has been received and I thank you for your kind comments concerning my work.

With regard to your inquiry, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left this Bureau are strictly his own and it is not possible for me to comment further on his activities or writings.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 20
NOV 5 - 1971
FBI

NOTE: Based on available information, correspondent not identifiable in Bufiles. The stamped self-addressed envelope she enclosed is being utilized in reply.

JCW:lw (3)

Tolson
Felt
Rosen
Mohr
Bishop
Miller, E.S.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Cleveland
Ponder
Bates
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JCW

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Miller, ES
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Bates
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

November 1, 1971

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

For the last thirty years, I have admired your work and figured you were one of the most trustworthy and conscientious men in government work. For this reason, I am writing to you to answer a question that has patriotic Americans very upset. Have you read Cleon Skousen's book "The Naked Capitalist", and if you have, is it true? If only part is true, we're in real trouble! Can you publicize such a story?

I have been giving book reviews and when I gave this book, nobody believed it---too many prominent men involved, etc. etc. Before I do any more reviews of said book, I would appreciate your opinion as one I can trust. Thank you for your answer.

Sincerely,

(Mrs) Edith Pascoe

950 Locust Lane
Tacoma, Washington 98465

EX-PROC.
NOV 3 1971

EX-101
REC-19
94-47468-102
NOV 3 1971

CORRESPONDENCE
PERS. REC. UNIT
DIRECTOR

January 14, 1972

REC-4 94-47911-103

Dr. Nicholas Dushku
Post Office Box 1215
Pacifica, California 94044

Dear Dr. Dushku:

I have received your letter of January 7th and certainly thank you for your kind remarks. You may be sure your support means a great deal to me.

In reply to your inquiries, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen's personal ventures as well as his opinions are strictly his own. In addition, it is contrary to my long-standing policy to comment on material not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. I regret I cannot be of further assistance in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 9
JAN 14 1972
FBI

NOTE: Neither correspondent nor the book, "Tragedy and Hope," by Carroll Quigley is identifiable Bufiles.

JJH:ljl (3)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Miller, E.S.
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Bates
Mr. Waikart
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

55 JAN 26 1972

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Miller, E.S.
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Bates
Mr. Waikart
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

P.O. Box 1215
Pacifica, Calif. 94044
January 7, 1972

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have read Mr. W. Cleon Skousen's review of Dr. Carroll Quigley's book "Tragedy and Hope". As you remember, Mr Skousen is a former FBI agent of yours and respected by the law enforcement community. I have most of your books on Communism and on crime in the U.S.A. I give you my support and respect you as a God inspired man. Please continue in your high quality work.

Would you be able to tell me whether the book "Tragedy and Hope" is true. Events seem to be developing as outlined in this book. Secret societies and secret combinations as outlined in this book appear to be quite true. I fear for our country.

I know that no secret combination can succeed as long as we, the people, keep our country's traditions and sacred philosophy as well as a belief in God. However, that philosophy is being torn apart today and we are collapsing as a result. Can you give me any information to my questions on Dr. Carrol Quigley's Book?

Sincerely

Nicholas Dushkur M D.

archive
1-14-72
J.J.Hi[illegible]

copy:dcw

PACIFICA, CA
PM
1972
94044

8/JJH

P.O. Box 1215
Pacifica, Calif. 94044
January 7, 1972

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Miller, ES
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Bates
Mr. Walkart
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have read Mr. W. Cleon Skousen's review of Dr. Carroll Quigley's book "Tragedy and Hope". As you remember, Mr Skousen is a former FBI agent of yours and respected by the law enforcement community. I have most of your books on Communism and on Crime in the U.S.A. I give you my support and respect you as a Great inspired man. Please continue in your high quality work.

Would you be able to tell me whether the book "Tragedy and Hope" is true. Events seem to be developing as outlined in this book. Secret societies and secret combinations as outlined in the book appear to be quite true. I fear for our country.

I know that no secret combination can succeed as long as we, the people, keep our country's traditions and sacred philosophy as well as a belief in God. However, that philosophy is being torn apart today and we are collapsing as a result. Can you give me any information to my questions on Dr. Carrol Quigley's Book?

Sincerely
Nicholas Duska M.D.

REC-41 1-7468-103

18

JAN 11 1972

EX-109

31 JAN 11 1972

34

JAN 11 1972

CORRESPONDENCE

PERS. REC. UNIT

REC 98 94-42468-104

April 26, 1972

EX-109

Mr. Charles E. Shephard, Jr.
190 North Shilling
Blackfoot, Idaho 83221

Dear Mr. Shephard:

I received your letter on April 20th. With regard to your inquiries, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, and served in that capacity until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left this Bureau are strictly his own. Further, it is contrary to my long-standing policy to comment on material not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. I am sorry it is not possible for me to furnish the advice you are seeking.

With respect to your concern about the threat of communism, I have repeatedly emphasized it is imperative for Americans to study the objectives and operations of the communist conspiracy if we are to effectively resist its eroding influence. I am enclosing literature on the general topic of communism which includes suggestions all of us can use in combating this evil.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 5
APR 26 1972
FBI

Tolson
Felt
Campbell
Rosen
Mohr
Bishop
Miller, E.S.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Cleveland
Ponder
Bates
Waikart
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Enclosures (5)
The Revolutionary-Guerrilla Attacks Law Enforcement and Democratic Society
The Role of Money in Soviet Espionage Operations
A Study in Marxist Revolutionary Violence: SDS
Director's Statement on Communism
Excerpt Re Appropriation Testimony 3/71 on Internal Security

REW:mlk (3)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Charles E. shephard, Jr.

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. The only references to Dr. Carroll Quigley and "Tragedy and Hope" in Bufiles are two letters making inquiries concerning this book.

190 North Shilling
Blackfoot, Idaho
April 14, 1972

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

My name is Charles E. Shephard, Jr, I am writing to determine in my own mind, the validity of statements made by a former member of the FBI. The individual I am refering to is Mr. W. Cleon Skousen who worked with the FBI for sixteen years.

According to Mr. Skousen, in his book The Naked Capitalist there exists in the world today a secret group (Round Table Groups) who through their vast economic powers are financing the Communists with the ultimate aim of world control.

Mr. Skousen got most of his information from a book written by Dr. Carroll Quigley professor of history at the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University. The book is entitled; Tragedy and Hope.

Dr. Quigley states: "There does exist, and has existed for a generation, an international Anglophile network which operates to some extent, in the way the radical right believes the Communists act. In fact, this network which we may d identify as The Round Table Groups has no aversion to cooperating with the Communists, or any other groups and frequently does so. I know of the operation of this network because I have studied it for twenty years and was permitted for two years, in the early 1960's to examine its papers and secret records. I have no aversion to it or to most of its aims and have, for much of my life, been close to it and many of its instruments." (p. 950)

I would like your frank reply to these claims. If they are true the American people must be informed of their plans and activitaes. Also, I need to know these answers because I fear my career as a teacher may be jeaopordized bedause I dared to suggest that such a conspiracy could in fact exist.

EX-109 REC 98 94-47468-104

I would appreciate any and all information you could provide to help me.

ACK/mail 4-25-72 RGW mek

52

APR 20 1972

Sincerly yours,

Charles E. Shephard, Jr.

Charles E. Shephard, Jr.
190 North Shilling
Blackfoot, Idaho 83221

PERS. REC. UNIT

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Campbell
Mr. Rogan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Miller, E.S.
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Bates
Mr. Wikart
Mr. Walters
Mr. Sayars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

August 24, 1972

REC-19 94-47468-105

Mr. Lloyd E. Mutinsky
591 School Street
Fremont, California 94536

Dear Mr. Mutinsky:

In reply to your letter received on August 18th, I cannot furnish the data you are seeking since information in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice.

Also, the opinions and remarks of Mr. W. Cleon Skousen since he left this Bureau are strictly his own and it is not possible for me to comment on his writings.

I regret I cannot be of help to you in this instance.

Sincerely yours,

L. Patrick Gray III

L. Patrick Gray, III
Acting Director

MAIL ROOM
AUG 24 1972
FBI

NOTE: Bufiles disclose no record of correspondent or Southwest Council of LaRaza; American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council were investigated in 1942 and 1963 respectively, no communist infiltration disclosed; and the Council of Foreign Relations is a nonpolitical and noncommercial organization which supports American foreign relations in impartial and scholarly manner, Allen W. Dulles being President in 1949. 11-2-66 edition of Tucson, Arizona, newspaper quoted Subversive Activity Control Board as describing Barraza as communist, no further information. W. Cleon Skousen EOD as clerk 10-24-35, as Special Agent 6-17-40 and voluntarily resigned 10-5-51.

REW:jrp (3)

Felt
Baker
Bates
Bishop
Callahan
Cleveland
Conrad
Dalbey
Jenkins
Marshall
Miller, E.S.
Ponder
Soyars
Walters
Tele. Room
Mr. Kinley
Mr. Armstrong
Ms. Holmes
Mrs. Neenan

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

AUG 31 1972

591 School Street,
Fremont, Calif. 94536
August 13, 1972

Acting Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

I have just finished reading a book written by a former member of the Bureau. The book is entitled "The Naked Capitalist" and the author is Mr. W. Cleon Skousen.

After reading it I am compelled to write to you to find out whether you have investigated the Council on Foreign Relations and the Ford Foundation and its grants to: the Council on Foreign Relations; the pro-Viet Cong American Friends Service Committee; the Communist-staffed Southern Regional Council; the Southwest Council of La Raza, headed by identified Communist Maclevie Barraza.

Have you proposed to the Attorney General of the United States that the Council on Foreign Relations be put on his list of subversive organizations? If not, why not? Isn't there anything you can do to shed light on this sinister organization that seems bent on the destruction of the United States Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the American way of life?

Sincerely,

Lloyd E. Mutinsky

Lloyd E. Mutinsky

ack
8-28-72
REW:yp

EX-114
REC-19 94-477468-1

AUG 25 1972

CORRESPONDENCE